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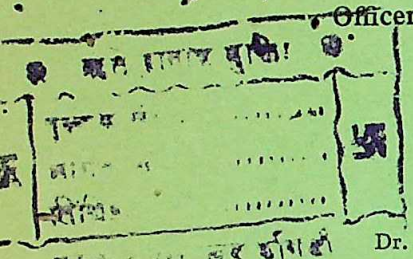


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THE CONCEPT OF GOD IN CHINESE RELIGION

By Walter Liebenthal

I. Heaven and Spirit-on-High

Christian missionaries who came to China in the sixteenth and following centuries had to translate the word 'God' as they had to translate the Bible. This was to them a matter of importance and the Chinese characters to be used were selected only after a prolonged study and argument. Their final decision was based on what the Chinese themselves knew of the Chinese religion at that time. This knowledge has now been vastly enlarged and discoveries of great significance have been made by Chinese, Japanese, French, and other scholars. We shall sketch the earlier view first.

The term which is most often equated with God by Western scholars is Chinese 'Heaven' (*t'ien*). The Catholic priests added a 'Lord' (*chu*) and translated 'Lord in Heaven' (*t'ien-chu*) while the Protestant missionaries selected another term, viz. 'Spirit-on-High' (*shang-ti*).[1] Today *t'ien* is generally translated as 'Heaven' and *shang-ti* as 'God', also by Chinese scholars.[2] These terms originate in the ancient Chinese literature. Let us see what they meant there.

H. C. Creel, in a book on Confucius which is now, generally speaking, probably the best on this subject, writes:[3] 'The principal deity of the Chou (1122–255 B.C.) was called *t'ien*. The early form of this character shows a large and therefore important man. It came to refer to the most important men of all, the former kings who had died and taken up their abode in the heavens. As a sort of "council of the gods" they controlled human destinies. Then, because Chinese does not distinguish singular and plural, *T'ien* came to be thought of as singular, an overruling Providence located in the sky. Thus there was derived the concept of Heaven as a rather impersonal intelligence. When the Chou conquered the Shang, they equated their Heaven with *Ti*, the Shang deity.'

Who was *ti*, the God of the Shang, those highly civilized people whom Chinese tribes from the West defeated in 1122 B.C.? The same author says:[4] 'In the Shang kingdom the kings and presumably all others sacrificed elaborately to their ancestors and to other spirits; especially important was a powerful spirit called *Ti*. They believed that the spirits, and especially their ancestors, supervised human destinies; if pleased they bestowed success, if displeased they scourged mankind with various ills. The Shang people sacrificed to avert disaster and obtain felicity, and they constantly consulted the wishes of their gods through divination.'

Thus *t'ien* as well as *ti* originally were spirits or souls, perhaps ancestor souls, which acquired importance as dynastic ancestors.[5] In late Chou times their original characteristics had faded and a Figure remained which we might describe as the personalized Honour of a dynasty. In 'The Speech

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[1] *Shang* means high, *ti* means spirit.
[2] As, e.g. by the now best known Chinese philosopher, Prof. Fung Yu-lan.
[3] Confucius. *The Man and the Myth*. New York, 1949, p. 114.
[4] *L.c.*, p. 113.
[5] But Marcel Granet sees in Heaven rather a sun-god, the male impregnator of female Earth.

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of T'ang' it is said:[1] 'Heaven (*T'ien*) has commanded me to destroy (the sovereign of the Shang). Fearing the Supreme God (*Shang Ti*), I dare not but carry out the punishment appointed by Heaven.'

With Confucius the concept of Heaven got an even wider meaning and stood for personalized Justice, as Justice was understood by him. Confucius was a minor nobleman and saying that he 'fears the Will of Heaven'[2] he means that decisions of an ethical nature should be taken not only by the dynastic representative of China but also by private persons, noblemen. This was his 'democracy'. Confucius made the single individual of noble descent[3] co-responsible for the welfare of the Chinese state. This, I believe, was his main achievement.

Mo Tzu, a philosopher who lived only about a generation after Confucius, changed the mighty figure of a cosmic, dynastic, ancestor, an impersonal ethical force, 'a cosmic counterpart of the ethical sense in man', as Creel says,[4] into that of an almighty divinity with whom single individuals could deal for their private benefit. 'Those who wish to be rich and honourable cannot but obey the Will of Heaven. Those who obey the Will of Heaven, love universally and benefit others, will then be inevitably rewarded. Those who oppose the Will of Heaven, are partial and unfriendly and harming others, will inevitably incur punishment.'[5] The 'God' of Mo Tzu behaved in all respects not very different from those petty spirits who punished trespassers on taboos, with the only distinction that the taboos were replaced by ethical principles—principles which then were no more, as with Confucius, based on the standard picture of the Cosmic State but rather on rational considerations originating in an unspecified longing for general harmony and love.

Mo Tzu's philosophy could not replace the Confucian world-interpretation; it had little influence on the development of the Chinese religion. The common people continued to bring offerings before numerous spirits and demons while the noblemen remained Confucian. The Will of Heaven was followed, a cosmic *rta*, as it was articulated in the *Confucian Classics*, and there was no further speculation on what divine person there was behind that Will if any. The Chinese noblemen in general were rather sceptic of metaphysical powers and influences.

Creeds are living as long as they are discussed. The Will of Heaven was discovered by Confucius and its contents detailed by the later Confucians; argument on these matters ceased when Confucianism became the official religion under the Han. But it is an error of those scholars who are brought up with the *Classics* and only with the *Classics*, to maintain that religious life also ceased to grow and develop. Apart from new demons and gods who mushroomed in the lower social layers, we find in the third and later centuries A.D. Chinese literati arguing hotly about a metaphysical concept which, as I am out to prove, came even nearer to modern interpretations of God[6] than Heaven. This concept was that of the Cosmic

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[1] Y. L. Fung: *History of Chinese Philosophy* (transl. Derk Bodde), Peking, 1937, p. 30.

[2] *Analects*, 16.8.

[3] Only noblemen had souls capable of becoming ancestor souls, those of common people mixed with nature after their death and did not bear any responsibility for the fate of the Chinese Cosmic State.

[4] *L.c.*, p. 333.

[5] Fung *l.c.*, p. 96.

[6] I mean that as 'modern' scholars we shall not worry about a definition of God but accept all, whether based on intuition or on the authority of sacred scriptures, as human interpretations. For it is evident that God cannot be defined adequately.

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Sage. We shall now try to describe this Figure and begin with throwing a bird's-eye glance on the situation during the period of the divided Empire (A.D. 220–588). This is unavoidable as our views and our terminology often deviate from the traditional views and the traditional use of terms.

II. Religion in China at about A.D. 400

I distinguish roughly the following types:

(1) The Imperial cult of Heaven and Confucius. This is generally called Confucianism. Confucius himself was, of course, a philosopher, but in later times he was worshipped as the prophet of that world-interpretation on which the Chinese Cosmic State is based. The cult of Confucius was fashioned after the pattern of private ancestor-worship; his worship implied allegiance to the standards of the Chinese civilization. Confucian temples were erected in conquered territories and his prestige protected as rigidly as that of the Emperor. The borderline between the worship of gods and other persons of prestige, such as prophets, is rather fluid. Thus, I think, we may say that the worship of Confucius, if not religious, at least had a religious tinge.

(2) Popular cults of spirits, demons and gods, which are commonly comprised under the term 'Taoism' but should better be called 'popular Taoism' in distinction from Taoist philosophy and mysticism. This popular Taoism was, if we take into consideration the kind of approach to the gods, not very different from popular Buddhism.[1] Buddhas and Bodhisattvas received offerings and were expected to favour the worshipper in return exactly like Taoist spirits. This accounts for the fact that in China both cults could mix though the churches remained separated.

(3) Taoist, later Buddho-Taoist, mysticism. Taoist mysticism is the religion, often called philosophy, of Lao Tzu and his followers. Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu both lived about 200 years after Confucius, that is around 300 B.C. Some scholars use the term 'neo-Taoism' for all Taoist philosophy, reserving the term 'Taoism' for the cults we have dealt with under (2), but I shall here call 'neo-Taoism' a Taoist philosophical school which flourished between A.D. 200 and 400 when it was absorbed into Buddhism. I propose to use the term 'Buddho-Taoist mysticism' for the later phase of this development. The Chinese themselves made no distinction between Taoist, Buddhist and even Confucian esoterism. There were noblemen of all inclinations among those who discussed the problems of this mysticism (*hsüan-hsüeh*).

I do not see how we can avoid to call the Chinese mystics religious, as mystics everywhere are called religious rather than philosophers. In the fifth and sixth centuries it was always spoken of the 'three religions' of Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism, with reference to these mystics.

[1] Divinities are best classified by using the yardstick of approach. Gods can be propitiated or bargained with; they can be imitated or loved, feared, or union sought with them. Many other kinds of approach are possible.

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III. Buddhism in China

Among the three amalgamating religions Buddhism occupied a peculiar position. It was a foreign creed, introduced from India, and yet it did not, as did Islam, form closed-in religious communities which would have remained foreign substance in the body of the Chinese society. Indian Buddhist monks who came to China never came to stay but simply presented their message and kept away from all inner, social and political, Chinese problems. They translated and explained the sūtras when they were called upon to do that and left the rest to the Chinese themselves; nor did they interfere with the digestive process which ensued. In many cases the Chinese themselves had to wander all the way to India to get Buddhist scriptures. In fact, more Chinese went to India in search of Buddhism than Indians came the other way round. For the first six centuries altogether only about seventy missionaries with Indian names are known.

The Buddhist churches, from the beginning, have been founded and organized by Chinese exclusively. Traditions, telling us of generations of patriarchs leading down from the Buddha to a Chinese sect-founder, can be discarded as pious legends. Chinese *religieux* selected what appealed to them in the sūtras, rejected other material, debated Buddhist tenets, formulated dogmas, wrote apocryphical literature and composed legendary Buddhist history. Nobody raised the question of orthodoxy. In the minds of its early followers Buddhism was not even a religion in its own right but merely another revelation of that absolute religious truth which for them could only be one. What the Buddha had said was another expression of what Confucius or Lao Tzu had said before; he simply stated what was true and could also be experienced directly. As the Ch'an Buddhists later said, the Buddha is found in one's own heart.

Disputes between the churches were not caused by difference in dogma but by competition among the various Taoist, Buddhist, and Confucian groups which vied with each other for prestige and influence. Chinese Buddhist schools branched out without relation to the Indian schools. It could happen that in Buddhist circles Taoist philosophy was more eagerly discussed than in the rival Taoist communities.[1]

The best proof that Buddhism, as distinct from other religions, was really assimilated in China and became part of the Chinese life and civilization is afforded by the existence of a Chinese Buddhist literature. In this literature the problems discussed were not different from those which were discussed in China already before the arrival of Buddhism.

That is why I like to speak of Buddho-Taoism rather than of Buddhism in China. There existed a Buddhist scholarship which dealt strictly philologically with the texts and their history, but this scholarship was never popular. The interest of the broad masses as well as of the majority of the noblemen was focused on the 'great problem of life and death'. Buddhism conquered China in the short span of four centuries, from the fifth to the eighth, a change which a famous French scholar has called an explosion. This movement was not scholarly but religious, stimulated by the influx of Indian texts but brought about by the Chinese themselves. It is this I call Chinese Buddhism.

Did this religion contain the idea of God?

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[1] On the other hand Buddhist or Indian gods crept into Taoist temples. The most famous examples are the Indian Buddhist hells with Yama and Citragupta. In China these are seen in Taoist, not in Buddhist, monasteries.

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IV. The Concept of the Sage (*sheng-jen*) and its History

In the Buddho-Taoist literature the word 'Buddha' is not used for the Buddha, but instead he is called 'Sage'. With this word the Chinese were acquainted through the Confucian *Classics*. Confucius and the early Confucians understood by sages the mythical, god-like, Sage-kings of old. They were conceived as ideal rulers caring unselfishly for the people so that nobody disobeyed and peace reigned undisturbed during the Golden Age of Mankind. Under the earlier Han, that is, during the first two centuries B.C., one of these kings became cosmic; he was conceived as the force which had brought civilization to mankind. So he occurs in the *Book of Changes*, one of the Confucian Scriptures.[1] There he is called by the name of Pao-hsi, who does not otherwise appear in the Classical literature but is generally accepted to be identical with Fu-hsi, one of the Classical Ancient Kings. It is interesting that in this case it is one figure, not a plurality of figures, who is designated 'Sage'. In the following centuries this becomes the rule till in the third century A.D. or earlier a figure formed which might be described as follows: a cosmic ruler, identical with Nature, characterized by unselfishness, or absence of favouritism (*wu-wei*), representing in his person the original, pure, undisturbed, cosmic state before it was troubled by possessiveness. He exists in the origin, the summit or centre of the universe, is incarnation of Cosmic Order. A cultural hero in the *Book of Changes*, the Sage had then lost all characteristics of a mythical man and become a Supreme Being, part of the cosmos from its very beginning, though in his designation he still carried the term 'man' (*jen*).

The historical Confucius was also called Sage. But he never assumed the stature of a cosmic divinity. He was rather conceived as revealer of an always existing Cosmic World-order. The Chinese did not believe in re-incarnation, nevertheless they believed, at least in the Buddho-Taoist period, in repeated revelations of a cosmic guiding principle so that we might compare Confucius, as he was conceived in the early Middle Ages, with a divine avatar.

I have mentioned Lao Tzu, the great Taoist philosopher. Lao Tzu believed in Nature or Growth as the basic principle of cosmic evolution. Nature, not a Cosmic Government relying on the Confucian Rules of Propriety, represents Order in opposition to the existing chaotic state; Nature or Tao, is the principle underlying World development as it was originally willed. For, according to Lao Tzu, World is not what it should be—its natural course is interfered with by self-interested or weak governments and depraved individuals. Like Confucius, Lao Tzu distinguished between an original perfect state and later decadence.

In neo-Taoism, the following vision emerged: the original, integrated One, World as it was before it began to unfold, is at once the goal of all religious endeavour. Lao Tzu had said that we should 'return to the Origin'. Returning to the Origin we would be perfect, unassailable, almighty, immortal; we would be what the Chinese then called a Perfect Man or an Accomplished Man. We would be like the ideal Emperor, or the Sage, ruling the cosmos without interfering with the course of things. We ourselves would be Nature, the Great Magician who, sitting motionless in its Centre, turns the Wheel of Creation. Lao Tzu had not said how the 'return to Origin' can be achieved; his followers were better informed in this respect; drugs which gave immortality, dietetic rules, breathing and other exercises, such as meditation, could be used; or a poet might simply conceive (*t'i*)

[1] Or more exactly in *The Great Appendix* to this book.

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this idea and realize it in verses, music or painting, and go to the Origin straight on.

V. Identification of the Sage with the Buddha

When Buddhism began to stir the minds of the literati, that is, in the fourth century A.D., the knowledge that in India there existed, or had existed, a second Sage puzzled the Chinese. For those brought up in the Chinese tradition, it was unthinkable that the cosmos could have two cultural or religious centres. Beyond the frontiers of the Central Realm Barbarian kingdoms might exist, which the Chinese Emperor was mandated by Heaven to incorporate gradually into his dominium, but the whole idea of the mandate of civilization, fundamental to the Chinese Empire, broke down if there was another mandated Sage.

The Chinese Taoists solved this problem by declaring that Buddha was no other than Lao Tzu who in the sixth century B.C. had found the Elixir of Immortality and gone West. To them Buddhism was merely another form of the Chinese religion which had been preached in different ways by the Chinese Sages; it was Chinese Taoism or, as they said, Chinese esoterism and thus it merely supplemented what was known to the Chinese already. This theory was expounded in a scripture which became very popular. It is commonly said to have been written by a Taoist, but at that time, the third century A.D., Buddhism was not strictly distinguished from Taoism. I doubt that the intention of the author was to slight Buddhism, for he apparently did not refute it. The legend of *Lao Tzu having gone West to convert Barbarians* actually helped Buddhism to enter China without resistance; the author must have been aware of that fact.

As we have said before, the Indian *dharmācāryas* who translated Buddhist texts did not care, or did not know, whether in the Chinese mind their teaching was remoulded. Had they remonstrated and argued with their disciples, or insisted that these explain their doctrine correctly, they would have spoilt their own efforts. For the Chinese simply could not understand or digest what they heard; they had to make selections and changes. What resulted from this process of transformation was not recognized by the Indians as Buddhism. When they met Chinese priests in disputations outside China, as they did, e.g. in Tibet during the eighth century, they rejected absolutely Buddhism in its Chinese form. 'The Chinese *dhyāna*-teaching called Sudden Awakening, has not even the faintest similarity to the Dharma, preached by the golden mouth (*suvarṇa-mukha*) of the Buddha'.[1] This School of Sudden Awakening, however, more than any other, represents what we call Chinese Buddhism, a religion stimulated by Indian wisdom, but still fundamentally Chinese.

In the minds of the Chinese, the Buddha was identical with the Chinese Cosmic Sage, haunting Origin, and ruling in accordance with Cosmic Order (*li*). Thus he is described in the *Book of Chao* (composed between 405 and 410), in the commentaries of Tao-sheng (360?–432), and elsewhere. Though these descriptions are rather vague they are still not so indefinite as to make a comparison of the Chinese Buddha with his Indian counterpart impossible. May I point at the following characteristic features:

(1) The two Worlds or *satya* (*erh-t'i*). The Sage is said to fill both Worlds or states: the mundane and the supermundane. In Madhyamaka

[1] Śāntirakshita in a memorial, translated by P. Demiéville in *Le concile de Lhasa* (Bibliothèque de l'Institut des hautes études chinoises, vol. VII), p. 39.

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philosophy these are called 'relative' (*saṁvṛti*) and 'absolute' (*paramārtha*). They are identical with Saṁsāra and Nirvāṇa. Saṁsāra and Nirvāṇa are said in truth to be one. 'Relative' is explained as the kind of existence of single things which can be contrasted, located in space and time, assembled in compounds which again can be broken up, and reassembled. They can get in all sorts of relations to one another. During these changes they disappear (death) and reappear (birth) though remaining in Saṁsāra. Nirvāṇa means the cessation of these movements. Since Saṁsāra is mere illusion and therefore nothing actually ends in Nirvāṇa, we are told that these states in truth (i.e. in *samādhi*) are identical (*śūnyatā*).

These two states the Chinese called *t'i* and *yung*. *T'i* refers to the integrated state, also called nothingness (*wu*), namelessness, etc., which preceded the disintegrated state in which we are now. They are not, as in Indian Madhyamaka, yogic but cosmic states. For they represent different time periods. Liberation from the present state of conflicts and suffering is therefore achieved through 'return to the Origin'. The act which implements this return, the Chinese also called *t'i* using the noun *t'i*, which stands for the original state of things, as a verb. It is difficult to make out what this act actually implied, but I think, and here I agree with British scholars, that it was an ecstasy rather than a trance, and similar to experiences of mystics all over the world. I believe that these experiences are narrowly related to those of poets, artists and other creative personalities when they 'see' the solution of a problem. Notice that a creative act is never, even with mathematicians, a calculation but a vision.

(2) The adaptation of the Buddha (*upāya-kauśalya*). In the *Saddharma-puṇḍrīka Sūtra* the Buddha propagates the doctrine of one Vehicle (*ekayāna*); in truth there are not three Vehicles, or ways, to salvation, viz. those of the Śrāvaka, Pratyekabuddha and Bodhisattva, but only one Great Vehicle (Mahāyāna). But in order to adjust his teaching to the different states of unequal maturity, the Buddha preaches minor truths to the less progressed children. This adaptation is justified as an educative expedient.

On the Chinese side the Buddha is not only teacher but cosmic ruler who rules like nature, i.e. taking no sides (*wu-wei*). He provides each single creature with what it needs. Such relation is called reciprocal (*kan-ying*). There must be a need, or a cry, before a Being is heard and the need is answered. This implies that 'prayers are surely answered' as also that the life of a believer is continually guided by the Sage, as long as he remains in contact with him (*yu-yüan*).

(3) *Yüan* (*pratyaya*), in Indian Buddhism, refers to the mechanism of *karman*. Whatever happens is referable to some earlier cause, as e.g. a good deed, often that of pious benevolence or that of listening to a sermon, memorizing it, writing it, etc. No personal relation to the Buddha is involved. He remains completely detached. The epithet 'father', or the use of the term 'clan' (*gotra*) for the Buddhist community of saints, are metaphors which do not involve a relation such as exists between a cosmic ancestor and his descendants and heirs. In China the Buddha, at least in the fifth century, was a Heavenly Father in the sense that a personal relation existed which replaced *karman*. This relation counts, not *dāna* and other Karmic relevant deeds. When the grace of the Buddha is accepted, all is well. Therefore the wise will surrender his will to that of the Buddha and seek no other reward; the stupid will pray for wealth and delivery from accidents and Karmic punishments not knowing that all sins are forgiven by the Father from the very moment when they are committed. In Chinese Buddhism the fear of Karmic retribution was replaced by trust in the love of the Father.

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(4) In India the Buddha has two Bodies: the *dharmakāya* (Chinese *fa-shen*) and the *nirmāṇakāya* (*ying-shen*). The first represents the state of the released who has become real, i.e. become one with the undivided reality (*dharmadhātu*); the second represents his appearances on Earth, which are merely phenomenal and produced for the purpose of conversion. In China these two Bodies were again referred to the pattern of *t'i* and *yung* (the originally perfect and the later decayed state). They represented the duality of passivity and activity, characteristic of nature. As things are now in the state of decay, when the original harmony has been replaced by conflict, demands are constantly made on Nature and she has to respond, that is to be active. The same applies to the religious sphere and the Buddha; he is active, responds to our self-created needs (*nirmāṇakāya*), while originally (*dharmakāya*) he is in rest, ever-same. Here again we observe the transfer of a theme for the educative into the cosmic sphere.

With the help of the above indications we may try to sketch a picture of the Chinese Sage. Above all he is a cosmic figure, a cosmic Emperor and Ancestor swaying World from the Centre or Origin of the Whole. His aspects refer to the rhythm of latency and manifestation innate in nature.[1] The relation of the single creature to this figure is that of a child to a father, a child that feels it is cared for. It is, basically, trust or faith in the goodness of existence and of the Sage, its representative. Sin is not a serious matter as it is in Christianity, but rather a playful deviation from the right line. It is not punished by any divine figure, neither by God nor by the Devil, but it exposes the deviator to all kinds of self-created dangers. Still, as he is not bad but merely blind, he, like all others, will finally recognize that he has left his goal and return. Yogic exertion is for this purpose unnecessary. A universal mind, more real than what is experienced through the senses, has never been conceived by the Chinese. His Nirvāṇa is not below the surface of things but right in their centre; his Saṃsāra is not illusion but World which has gone out of order. This order has to be restored.

VI. Ch'an Buddhism

The above description of the Sage would hold good for the fifth century A.D. Three hundred years later the social picture had changed and all traditional values were reversed. The Chinese, since earliest times, believed in an eternal world-order with the Emperor on the top and the simple folk, the toilers, at the bottom. But according to the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* nobody is excluded from Buddhahood. So the Chinese knew: though the Beings have no souls (*pudgala*) in the technical sense of this word, they yet have immortal Selfs (*ātman*) and will join the Father in the end. Everybody is a member of the clan of the Buddha (*buddhagotra*); there can be no question of rank. The poor and the rich, the servant and the master, none has any advantage before the other: as children of the Buddha all are equal. A new standard of human dignity, unknown under the Han, began to assert itself. The figure of the saint, the man who had overcome the hazards of life, demanded respect. Under the petrifying layer of ancient forms and institutions private life flourished. Chinese art of that period was individualistic and religious. Formerly Imperial glory was depicted in emblems and displayed in the decoration of the palaces and halls. Under the T'ang and Sung the beauty of nature, landscapes, flowers, and animals,

[1] This rhythm is, however, not identical with the Indian rhythm of universal destruction and re-creation.

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was discovered. Popular literature supplemented the Classics. I agree with the majority of scholars maintaining that this change of the Chinese World-interpretation can, at least partly, be ascribed to the growing popularity of Ch'an Buddhism.

What happened with the Sage in Ch'an Buddhism? In the earlier period of Buddhism, described above, he was a person with definable characteristics. In the following centuries, especially the sixth and seventh, all exertions of the debaters were directed upon cleansing this figure of specifications. A final, highest, entity must be the Whole or Absolute, an Order (*li*) behind the changes, World-spirit (*shên*) or World-heart (*hsin*). But, if the Buddha is the heart of all, is he still outside myself? What separates him from me, and me from salvation? Nothing, the Ch'an priest would answer, but an experience, which can be made at any moment. Ways and stages of whatever kind would always lead inside the relative sphere; what is needed is an awakening. As I see it, the attitude of a Ch'an believer towards the Undescribable does not differ very much from that of Tao-sheng towards the Father; it is that of trust, of wide-eyed expectation, rest in the awareness that sin is mere misunderstanding, that there is nothing to be done about since every step forward would lead deeper into entanglement.

This is an ideal description. The actual history of Ch'an Buddhism is not my subject here. Chinese scholars might protest against the use of the word 'trust' which implies a personal relation. It is true that, if we solve such riddles as that of the 'goose in the bottle',[1] the result, expressed in words, would contain no theology. But it also does not yield much philosophic wisdom. The bottle of our self-made worries in reality does not exist; we are free to move out if we recognize the bottle as mere *imago*. It means that an experience is demanded to be made which implies a changed relation to the whole, this understood not as a sum of single things outside, but as some kind of subjective reality. The Ch'an Buddhist calls it 'finding the Buddha in our own heart'. That is not a rational but a religious act.

All Chinese philosophers up to Wang Yang-ming (1472–1528), who dealt with the last principles, pondered about the One which is the Whole. In no case it is conceived as personal but also never as material. All mystics speak of God as One, Source, Light, etc. This refers to an experience which in China even more than in the West seems to be taken for granted.

Summary

We have found that if we omit the latest development, roughly the last millenium, two Figures might be regarded as interpretations of God, understood as Supreme Being, namely Heaven and Cosmic Sage. Heaven had been a soul (ancestor) or spirit (sun-god) in the beginning of his history. He was more or less a tribal or racial god, the Heavenly counterpart to the Earthly ruler of the Chinese Cosmic Empire, and was, therefore, worshipped only at the Imperial Court with traditional ritual. With Confucius he became paragon and avenger of Chinese honour, with Mo Tzu a more personal avenger of private immorality. He is discussed in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. and lingers in later discussions as a kind of cosmic Providence undistinguished in principle from demons and other metaphysical entities

[1] A goose is put in a bottle, it grows and becomes too big for the bottleneck. How to get it out?

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with the same function. As such he draws upon himself the fire of scepticsics without, however, being singled out for consideration.[1]

The Cosmic Sage appears in the second century B.C. He is a cultural hero deriving his prestige from a deed instead of from a position.[2] He assigns things their places. Knowing the laws of Nature, he follows them and acts in harmony with Nature. As this feat is imitable, he becomes an ideal (Great Man). In the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. this figure (Sage), through amalgamation with the Buddha, develops into a cosmical Father and Guide who loves his children. Notice the contrast to avenging Providence! It is important to know that in this case 'his children' included not only the heirs to the Chinese throne but also commoners, in short 'all Beings'. The Sage, or Buddha, makes no distinctions, he demands no offerings, not even prayers, but responds to every need 'like the echo'. Again the contrast to spirits, popular Buddhas and Bodhisattvas who were approached for boons, and expected gifts and devotion from the believers, may be noticed. The Chinese Sage is not party in the conflict between good and evil, but remains completely detached. Thus he could in the course of times be identified with Existence which nevertheless, however abstract it was, somehow retained the quality of graciousness and trustworthiness, peculiar to the Sage.[3]

This development in the figure of the Sage, or Chinese Buddha, was almost independent from that in the Indian Buddha. Only in the fifth century, when the Sage became a divine Father, the influence of sūtras, viz. the *Lotus Sūtra* and the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, are definitely traceable.[4]

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[1] We cannot, therefore, speak of Chinese atheism but rather of Chinese scepticism which doubted all kinds of non-physical influences.

[2] Ancestor souls derive their prestige from a position; their individual capacities are for that purpose irrelevant.

[3] This is not necessarily so. Compare modern Existentialism where Existence has a terrifying aspect.

[4] Documentary evidence for my contentions will be found in the last of four papers on *Tao-sheng and His Time* which is published in the Monumenta Nipponica, Vol. XII, Nos. 3-4, Tokyo, 1956.

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THE NAME 'ASSAM-AHOM'

By Suniti Kumar Chatterji

The name **Assam** is now well known all over India and the world as that of an important state within the Union of India. During British times the name **Assam** was associated primarily with the two commodities it produced, viz. its very fine silks, and its tea. **Assam,** as the name of the province, however, is comparatively late, and it took some time to be generally accepted as a familiar or common name for an important area in the Indian Union. In Indian folk-lore, the name **Assam** has hardly a place. It is known as **Kāmarūpa,** and this Sanskrit word is sometimes found in a modified form, as for example in the Bengali কাঙর **Kāṅur** or **Kāw̃ur** (**Kāṃwur**), and this was the name which was heard by the first Modern European travellers and geographers in Eastern India, e.g. the Portuguese Joaõ de Barros (1552), who wrote down the name as **Caor.**

As a matter of fact, the state or province of Assam, particularly Assam proper, which is the valley of the Brahmaputra river, had other names. The oldest name which we can find from Sanskrit records is **Prāgjyotiṣa.** Slightly later than this name is **Kāmarūpa.** It would appear that **Prāgjyotiṣa** covered the entire Brahmaputra valley from the place where the river enters the Assam plains, flowing from Tibet southwards through the gorges of the Himalayas, whereas **Kāmarūpa** was specifically the name of the western part of the state, centering round the modern town of Gauhati (গুৱাহাটী, **Guwāhāṭī** = **Guvāka-haṭṭikā** 'Areca-nut Market') and the ancient shrine of Kāmākhyā on a hill to the west of Gauhati. The name **Prāgjyotiṣa** has not survived in a Prakrit form in our modern Indian languages, but **Kāmarūpa** has, as **Kāmarū** or **Kāw̃arū** (**Kāṃvarū**) or as **Kāw̃ur** (**Kāṃwur**), in different New Indo-Aryan speeches like Early Maithili, Early Hindi, Bengali, etc.

The name **Assam,** which has virtually made obsolete the earlier two names, is now used for Assam state or province in general and the Brahmaputra valley in particular. It was not in use even in Assam in early times, and could not have been in use there or elsewhere before the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D., when the Ahoms, a Shan tribe from Burma, crossed the Patkai Range and penetrated into Assam, and established themselves as conquerors in Eastern Assam (1228). This name **Assam,** as it is spelt in English, has got numerous variants in the modern Indo-Aryan language of Assam, which itself is ordinarily known among its speakers as **Asamiyā Bhāṣā** (অসমিয়া ভাষা=**অসমিয়া ভাষা [ɔxɔmia bhaxa]**). The name is spelt as অসম = **অসম (Asama),** now pronounced as **[ɔxɔm],** also as আসাম = **আসাম (Āsāma),** with long vowels, now pronounced as **[axam];** and besides, another spelling আসম=**আসম (Āsama),** now pronounced **[axɔm],** also occurs in Early Assamese literature.

Further, the word occurs in another spelling, giving a variant pronunciation, viz. অচম=**অচম (Acama),** which is now pronounced as **[ɔsɔm];** and this অচম=**অচম** is found also as আচাম=**আচাম, Ācāma [asam].**

Through the kindness of my friend and former pupil, Dr. Birinchi Kumar Barua, M.A., B.L., Ph.D. (London), and his two students and colleagues in Gauhati University, Dr. Maheswar Neog, M.A., Ph.D., and

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Dr. Satyendra Nath Sarma, M.A., Ph.D., I have been enabled to obtain from Early Assamese literature references and quotations, giving the earliest occurrence of the words for Assam in their various forms.

The two forms, **Ăsăma** and **Ăcăma**, are found to be almost contemporaneous in Early Assamese literature (the second half of the sixteenth century), only it is just likely that **Acama (=[ɔsɔm])** came in earlier. Dr. Satyendra Nath Sarma gives the following quotations:

Kirāta Kachārī Khāchi Gāro Miri Yawana Kaṅka Gowāla,
Acama-mulaka Rajaka Turuka Kuwāca Mleca Caṇḍāla ;
Āno pāpī nara Kṛṣṇa-sewakara saṅga-ta pawitra haya,
Bhakati labhiyā saṃsāra tariyā Baikuṇṭhe sukhe calaya.

—(From Śaṅkara-deva's *Bhāgavata*, II, padas 474-75.)

(The Kirātas, Kacharis, Khasis, Garos, Miris, Yavanas, Kankas, and cowherds, Acamas of the land [or uncouth or barbarian Acamas—**Mulaka** = Modern Assamese **Muluṅ** = 'uncivilized', cf. **ākarā muluṅ** = 'a foolish barbarian'], washermen, Turks, Koches, Meches and Caṇḍālas; and other sinful men become sanctified through contact with the servants of Krishna; and attaining *bhakti*, they cross over *saṃsāra* and come to Vishnu's Heaven (*Vaikuṇṭha*) in great bliss.)

In the above passage, Śaṅkara-deva appears to have paraphrased the Bhāgavata Purāṇa expression **anyē'pi pāpa-yōnayaḥ** into Assamese as **āno pāpī nara,** with the names of familiar hill peoples and some of the plains peoples with not very exalted places in Hindu society as examples of 'sinful men'.

Hari-nāme nāhike niyama adhikārī :
'Rāma' buli tare Miri Acama Kachārī.

—(From Mādhava-deva's *Nāma-ghoṣā*, 'pada 501.)

(There is no special rule, no special eligibility to take the name of Hari: by saying 'Rāma', Miris, Acams and Kacharis all are saved.)

From the above passages it would be clear that **Acama,** with Śaṅkara-deva and his younger contemporary and disciple Mādhava-deva, meant only one of the Tibeto-Burman or non-Aryan speaking tribes of Assam, very likely the Ahoms only.

To denote the people of Assam, particularly the Ahoms, the form **Acama** has also been frequently used in the *Asam-Burañjī* (obtained from the family of Sri Sukumar Mahanta, dating from the seventeenth century, and edited by Dr. Suryya Kumar Bhuyan in 1945): e.g.

Ācāme-o nāo nāorā taiyār kari dalaṅ bāndhiche,
āmākehe dhariba-laị yatna kariche.

—(*Asam-Burañjī*, p. 87.)

(The Acams, too, have erected a barrier by preparing their boats and their navy, and they are trying to capture us.)

Ācāme gaḍa kariche, calācala cāi yuddha karibā.

—(*Asam-Burañjī*, p. 112.)

(The Acams (= Ahoms) have erected a fort, carry on the campaign by taking note of the passages.)

From the early seventeenth century onwards, the biographies of the Vaishnava saints of Assam, like Śaṅkara-deva and Mādhava-deva, have used

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the form **Āsāma আসাম** to denote, first, the Ahom tribe, and secondly, the country (i.e. portion of the Brahmaputra valley) ruled over by the Ahoms. Examples are plentiful in works like Rāmacaraṇa Ṭhākura's (1560–1620) 'Biography of Śaṅkara-deva' and Daityāri Ṭhākura's 'Biography of Śaṅkara-deva and Mādhava-deva' (early seventeenth century). Dr. Satyendra Nath Sarma, however, says that 'the genuineness of Rāmacaraṇa's work is disputed by some scholars and is supposed to be a spurious piece of writing belonging to the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century'. **Āsāma**, e.g. in the passage below (quoted for me by Dr. Satyendra Nath Sarma), means the Eastern Part of the Brahmaputra valley, as ruled over by the Ahoms, in contrast to **Kāmarūpa** or Western Assam:

Nara-nārāyaṇa bhaṭilā Kāmarūpe rājā,
āpuni barilā āsi Āsāmara prajā.

—(Rāmacaraṇa Ṭhākura's 'Biography of Śaṅkara-deva'.)

(Nara-nārāyaṇa was king in Kāmarūpa, and the subjects of Āsāma, i.e. of the Ahom king, themselves came and paid homage to him.)

In the treaty of peace between the Ahom king Jayadhwaja Siṃha and the Mogul army led by Mīr Jumla, 1662, the kingdom of the Ahoms is described as **Bilāyat Āsāmakasya**, i.e. 'the *Wilāyat* or State of the *Āsām* or Ahom King'.

The Muslim historian Shahābuddīn, accompanying Mīr Jumla, uses the word اسم = **Asham, Ašam** to mean the country and people of Assam, and particularly the Ahoms.

Dr. Satyendra Nath Sarma has kindly furnished me with this note, which is interesting and *à propos*: 'It is still the habit in places like North Lakhimpur to frighten children by saying **আচাম আহিছে, আচাম আহিছে, শুই থাক্ [asam ahise, asam ahise, xui thak]** (The Āsāms are coming, the Āsāms are coming, go to sleep).'

Side by side with **অচম-আচাম Ăcăma** and **অসম-আসাম Ăsăma**, we find another, and a third form of the name, as **অহম, আহম** or **আহোম Ahama, Āhama, Ahoma.** Dr. Maheswar Neog tells me that the oldest use of this third form of the name which he has found in Early Assamese literature occurs in the *Bāhgariyā Burhā-gohāir Burañjī*, written under the supervision of Ātan Burhāgohāi (1662–1679):

ānara baṅgaha na-hay, dewa-mānuha buli yi (= ji) kay hay, eyehe Āham : āka āne sama haõtā nāi.

—(*Deodhāi Āhom Burañjī*, edited by Dr. Suryya Kumar Bhuyan, 1932, Art. 155, p. 93.)

(They do not come from any other race: they are described as God-like men; that is why **Āham.** There is no one who is equal (*saṃa*) to them.)

Here a definite connexion between the forms **Asama** and **Ahama** is suggested: and this interpretation of **Asam-Ahom**, as a Sanskrit word meaning 'unequalled, non-pareil', as a glorious tribal name, has generally been accepted by uncritical writers without any questioning right down to our day.

Sir G. A. Grierson has already noted (in the *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. II, p. 61, note) that **Assam (Āsām)** in the sixteenth century meant the Ahoms and the Ahom country. He also quotes the authority of a text which he names *Pādishāhnāma*, which is seemingly in Persian, but

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Dr. Neog identifies it with the Assamese verse chronicle the *Darang-Rāja-Vaṃśāvalī* (edited by H. C. Goswami, 1917).

We have thus in Early Assamese literature these three types of the same name, with variant orthographies, referring to the same Ahom tribe: viz. **Ăsăma, Ăcăma, Ăhama (Āhoma)**, pronounced respectively as **[ɔxɔm, axam], [ɔsom, asam], [ɔhɔm, ahom]** in Modern Assamese. It is to be noted that in Modern Assamese, the palatals **c, ch, j, jh** are pronounced respectively as **s, s, z, z**; and the sibilants of the Sanskrit alphabet, **श, ष, स (ś, ṣ, s)** are all pronounced when they occur singly as the guttural spirant unvoiced, **(x)**, like the Persian **kh** as in **Khudā,** or the German **ch** in **ach.** It is not known when this special pronunciation developed in the Assamese language, but the fact that we have the two kinds of spelling in Early Assamese would indicate that the Modern Assamese articulation was something not very different from what was already established in Assamese at least before 1500. 'Earlier, there was a tendency to change single intervocal sibilants to an aspirate **h**, and many Assamese words show this old phonological habit in their forms; e.g. **मानुह = मानुह mānuha = mānuṣa** 'man', **হাঁহি = হাঁহি hãhi = hāsi** 'smile', **বাঁহি = বাঁহি bãhi** from **vaṃśī** 'flute', etc. etc.

The Ahoms were an important section of one of the main branches of the great Sino-Tibetan race, viz. the Thai branch. This branch also includes the various Thai tribes of Burma, Thailand and Pathet Lao, and comprises also a large Thai substratum throughout the whole of South China, including a number of Thai tribes which still keep up their language and have not merged into the Chinese people by changing their language. We have for instance the various Shan tribes of North-Eastern Burma, and then there are the Siamese and the Laos; and in addition we have to note the Khamti people within India on the borders of Burma, and finally the Ahom people which forms an important element among the Assam Hindus at the present day, although the Ahoms have lost their old language and have become speakers of the Aryan Assamese.

In Assam, the Ahoms fought with the earlier Boḍos, a Tibeto-Burman people who were their distant cousins, and in many places absorbed them. In addition to the Boḍos, there were also the Naga and Kuki peoples who were partly absorbed by the Ahoms in the course of their expansion. The history of Assam from the early part of the thirteenth century right down to the middle of the seventeenth was primarily the history of the gradual establishment of the Ahoms as the paramount group in Assam, and they had to wage a stiff fight with the earlier Boḍo peoples. This fight came to a head in the sixteenth century when some powerful rulers of Boḍo origin were established in Cooch Behar in Northern Bengal and gave resistance to Ahom expansion. Finally the Ahoms became supreme by about A.D. 1700, near about which date was the greatest advancement of their political power. Their name as the most puissant people in Assam in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries gradually came to be adopted as the name of the state over which they ruled; and we have this thing quite common in history—the name of a ruling people being accepted as the name of the country, although the masses whom they ruled were of a different race or language. France and Russia are instances of the ruling tribe giving the name of the entire country and people.

Thus a conquering Sino-Tibetan people, who entered into India from Northern Burma in 1228, finally came to be known as **Asama, Acama** and **Ahom** in Assam; and from this name the province acquired a new

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name. But it is curious to observe that the conquerors did not use this name in any of its forms for themselves. Their own name which has been found in their historical and other literature and which was current among them was **Tai**. This word is written in the old Ahom script, connected with the Burmese, as တဲ = **Tăĭ**, but it is pronounced nowadays with a long ā vowel, as **Tāĭ**, a pronunciation which can be written in Nagari as ताइ: only the letter **t** = ত or त was pronounced not as a pure dental, but as an alveolar (*dantamūlīya*); and Modern Assamese, which possesses only one single set of alveolar sounds, and does not differentiate between the cerebrals ট, ঠ, ড, ঢ and the dentals ত, থ, দ, ধ, and frequently confuses them in writing, regularly uses the spelling টাই = টাই = **Ṭāi** for this word. A great section of the Sino-Tibetan people to whom the Ahoms belonged possesses this common name. The Siamese call themselves **Thai**, and their country they call **Muang Thai**, which means in modern Siamese 'the land of the Free', and the word **Thai** is explained as meaning 'Free'. The hybrid Siamo-Anglian name **Thailand** is based on **Muang Thai**. The Siamese actually write this name as ไท **Dai**, with the voiced द or **d**. This means that when the Siamese language was first written down in the thirteenth century, the pronunciation was with a voiced **d**, and the diphthong **ai** was more like **āi**; and later on, as we can see in the historical development of Siamese phonology, this unaspirated voiced **d** became an aspirated unvoiced **th** (compare Sanskrit **Āditya** = **Athit** in Siamese pronunciation; so **pradeśa** = **pathet**, **deva** = **thep**, etc.). Following this early Siamese pronunciation of the word **Thai** as **Dai**, Dr. Robert Shafer of California has used the term **Daic** to indicate the Siamese group in the classification of the Sino-Tibetan languages, just as he has used **Bodic** for the Tibetan group (from Old Tibetan **Bod** = Modern Tibetan **Pö** = Tibetan: Indianized as भोट **Bhoṭa**). The Ahom people would appear to have changed this common national appellation from **Dai** to **Tai** quite early. But here within India, in Assam, their national name remained confined to themselves only, and a new name with at least three variants in Assamese came to be applied to them.

Acama-Asam-Ahom, therefore, was a foreigner's name given to the Ahom people, and this foreign name became attached to them. We have a similar case among other peoples. The Greeks called themselves **Hellenes**; but Western Europe knows them as **Greeks** (**Grèques**, **Griechen**, etc.) which was developed out of the name of an obscure Greek tribe who first came in touch with the Latin-speaking Romans of Italy (**Grai**, **Graeci**). Similarly the name of another section of the Greeks, the **Iawones**, **Iaones** or **Iōnes**, gave the words **Yavana** in Sanskrit, **Yona** in Prakrit, **Yaunā** in Old Persian, **Javan** = **Yawan** in Hebrew and يون = **Ywn**, **Yūn** in Arabic, as the inclusive name for the Greeks as a whole.

What is the source of this word **Asama-Acama-Ahom**? And what is the reason for these variants in Early Assamese and in Modern Assamese?

It seems that these names are all connected with certain names given to the Thai tribes by the various Mongoloid and other peoples living in Burma who were established in the country before the Thai invasions started. The Thais came down into Indo-China from South China, which was what the Burmese themselves also did. Before the Thais came down

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to their present abode in the Shan States of North-Western Burma and in Siam and Laos in Indo-China, they were established in the lands to the North of Siam and in North Siam. From the Chinese province Yun-nan, which appears to have had a large Thai population from the very beginning, they also pressed into the lands of the East as well as South. The Burmese came to know the Shan section of the Thais who settled in North-Western Burma, and who form an important element of the population of Burma now, by a name which in Old Burmese was written down as ရှမ်း **Rham:** (the *visarga* indicating the tone), but in Modern Burmese this form **Rham:** is read as **Shan.** The Burmese language was first reduced to writing in the eleventh century, and **Rham** was evidently the pronunciation of this name among the **Mran-mā** or Burmese people of the eleventh century, or possibly earlier. It is exceedingly likely that this name had originally a Mon or Talaing basis. The phonological development of Old Burmese **Rham** was as follows: eleventh-century Old Burmese **Rham** > ***Yham** > ***Hyam** > **Çam** (**Ç** being for the sound of the German **ch** in **Ich,** and is heard also in English in words like **human, hue=[çumən, çu:])** > **Śyam** > **Šam,** and finally **Shan (=Šan).** The intermediate stages like **Çam, Śyam** were responsible for supplying to the Portuguese and other Europeans the various names for the great Thai kingdom of Siam—as **Sciam** and **Siam:** and this has been recently, in the nineteenth century, Sanskritized as **Śyāma,** meaning 'dark'.

We have also to note that the Kachin or Singpho people of North Burma, belonging to the Tibeto-Burman group, call the Shans **Hsam,** which is based on one of the later modifications of **Rham** (e.g. **Çam**).

My esteemed friend, Prof. Dr. Phya Anuman Rajadhon, Professor of Thai Language and Culture and of Sanskrit in Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok, has informed me that the Siamese were called by the Burmese as **Gywom,** and he bases this information on Charles Duroiselle, the eminent Pali scholar and archaeologist and historian of Burma. The Thai people dwelling in Chiengmai in Northern Siam, who are virtually the same people as the Siamese, are called by the Burmese **Yun,** and this is believed to be from the name **Yun-nan,** the Chinese province from where many of the Thais originally came. In the eleventh century, according to the Burmese history as referred to by Prof. Rajadhon, during the reign of the Burmese King Anoyahta (Anuruddha or Aniruddha) of Pagan, a Thai army from Chiengmai in Northern Siam attacked the Austro-Asiatic Mon (**Rmeñ**) kingdom of Pegu. The Mon king appealed to the Burmese king for help, and a Burmese army led by Kyanzittha (**Kyan-cac-sāḥ**), according to the orders of Aniruddha, came to the help of the Mon king of Pegu and defeated and drove out the Thai invaders coming from Chiengmai. The king of Pegu, in gratitude, gave one of his daughters in marriage to Aniruddha. These Chiengmai Thais are known in Burmese history as **Gywam,** and also as **Gywan,** and evidently this is the same word as the ordinary Burmese name for the Siamese Thais, which is **Gywom,** as mentioned by Duroiselle.

In the Mon historical tradition, which narrates the same story of Pegu being invaded by the Thais from Chiengmai, and of Aniruddha, on appeal from the Pegu king, sending help under Kyanzittha to the Mons, and Kyanzittha driving out the Thais from the Pegu kingdom, these Thai people are known as **Klom.** The **Klom** are therefore identical with **Gywom, Gywam** or **Gywan.**

Thus we have another set of equations which we may pose:—**Rham = Gywom** or **Gywam** or **Gywan = Klom.** These would appear to be

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variants of the same word. In Modern Burmese, Old Burmese **r** sound becomes **y**, and in the Early Burmese orthography **r** and **y** are very frequently interchanged or indiscriminately used. My Burmese friends tell me that the word **Gywam** or **Gywan,** meaning Chiengmai Thais in early Burmese history, is now written in Burmese with a **y** (in Nagari ग्यम्) and the pronunciation is **gyun** or **jun.** But it could be expected to be written also with **r,** as ***Grwom.**

The question is, whether we would be justified in equating these names: **Rham** = ***Grwom** = **Klom** (as given by the Mons). Interchange of these guttural sounds **h, g** and **k** is quite in the nature of things. The original source forms of these names, if they really are different modifications of the same word, still remain doubtful. But it may be a name which was used by the Mons in the first instance, and then taken over by the Burmese, in at least two noteworthy variants—(i) ***Grwom** = **Gywom, Gywam, Gywan,** and (ii) **Rham.**

Side by side with **Rham,** there could be another form **Rhwam,** which may be comparable with ***Grwom** or **Gywom**: I have not been able to attest with certainty this form **Rhwam,** but I have a vague recollection of having met this orthography in some Burmese writing.

I would propose to affiliate the Indian forms **Ăcăma-Ăsăma-Ahom (Ahama)** to these Burmese groups **Rham-*Grwom-Gywom-Klom.** These names in their variants were used by the Tibeto-Burman tribes of Burma like the Burmese and the Pyus to indicate the Thai invaders, and the Pyus and the Burmese may have got it from their neighbours, the earlier Mons. The name could easily have preceded the Thai invaders into India. In any case, these forms would give the basis for both **Ăsăma** and **Ahom** as well as **Ăcăma.** From a pronunciation like ***Yham** or ***Yhwam,** the word **Ahom** could easily originate (the initial **y-** becoming vocalized as **ya-** or **a-**); and that would be the oldest form of the name to come to India. But when the Burmese articulation of **Rham** was in the **Çam** or **Śyam** stage, probably during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, it could come to India in the form **Asama.** But in India the Assamese language changed the sibilants **ś, ṣ, s** to a guttural spirant **[x],** and, therefore, to indicate sibilant pronunciation, the Assamese from the sixteenth century onwards were forced to write the foreign **s-** sound with the letter চ = च = **c,** which had become in their speech a frank dental **s-** sound. Once when the word came up with the sibilant pronunciation, Sanskrit-knowing scholars tried to find a meaning in this word, and to give it a Sanskrit etymology, and the explanation was offered: **A-sama,** i.e. 'incomparable' or 'most powerful' people, as given in the *Asam-Burañjī* noted above.

Thus the name **Assam-Ahom** shows variants of an old non-Thai name for the Thai peoples, which in all likelihood first originated among the Mons of Burma, and then it was modified to **Gywom** or **Gywam** (from a possible earlier ***Grwom**), and **Rham,** in Old Burmese. The phonetic modifications of this word within Burmese in the course of the centuries following the eleventh gave rise not only to the Indian names **Ăsăma, Ăhama, Ăcăma,** etc., but also to the Portuguese and English and other European **Sciam, Siam,** etc., and recent Sanskrit **Śyāma.** The word **Ahom** therefore is just an Indian modification of the Burmese **Rham;** and similarly **Assam** is also to be explained, as being based on a later sibilant modification of the consonantal group **rh-** (> **yh** > **hy** > ç > **sy, s**) in the word **Rham,** which also gave the names **Siam** and **Shan.**

[2]

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THE APPROXIMATE DATE OF THE *HARIVAṂŚA*

By Sivaprasad Bhattacharyya

Orthodox tradition has all throughout regarded the *H.V.* as an integral part of the *Mbh.* This claim is supported by the prelude (*upakrama*) to that work (I. 1. 10–17), the conclusion to it (*upasaṁhāra*) (III. 132. 90–95) and the colophon (*iti śri Mahābhārate śatasāhasryām samhitāyām vaiyāsikyām khileṣu Harivaṁśe . . . .*). The well-known *Anukramaṇikādhyāya*, a later accretion to the main epic but certainly not one of its latest accretions, mentions the *H.V.* with its three divisions, the *khila H.V.-parvan* (I), the *Viṣṇuparvan* (II), also entitled the *Āścaryaparvan* (vide III. 128. 36), and the *Bhaviṣyaparvan* and regards it as contributing three out of the hundred *parvans* of the great epic—(*parvans* here must not be confused with the more widely known eighteen *parvans*, a bigger entity) —which can only be fittingly labelled as *Śatasāhasrī samhitā* if the 12,000 verses of the *H.V.* are included. There have been commentators who contend that the 18 *parvans* (the bigger unit) include the *H.V.* as one thereof and assert that the *Śānti* and *Anuśāsana* (the exclusively didactic portions) should be together counted as one. The first inscriptional reference to the epic in early sixth century A.C. has to be regarded in that light; and the method of computation of the verse-content to fit the number with the later and modern forms in its different recensions as has been proposed by some scholars (e.g. Mm. H. P. Sastri in *Des. Cat. of Mss. in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta*, Vol. V) on the basis of the fancied compliance with the *Parvasangrahaparvan* need not be stretched too far.

The limits of the epic proper have been determined by the consensus of scholarly opinion to be the fourth century B.C.—fourth century A.C. In the case of the *H.V.*, the earlier limit can be definitely lowered by three or even four centuries, as the references to the *dināra* coin,[1] and to the piratic *mleecha* and nomadic tribes[2] would serve to indicate. Walter Ruben regards the former as a 'relatively late addition', which leads one to think that he considers the genuine *H.V.* to be earlier than the second century B.C. Sober opinion, however, would not vacillate in the matter of dating the work and in choosing between the two references. The later limit can be raised by two centuries and even more, leaving out certain chapters, which look like interpolations, when one remembers that Aśvaghoṣa[3]—a clever

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[1] दिव्याभरणमम्बरम् . . भागा दीनारका दश. (II. 55. 50). Nilakaṇṭha notes: दिव्याभरणमित्येकत्वं जात्यभिप्रायेण 'दीनारः स्वर्णसाहस्र'मित्यभिधानोक्तेः (?) Scholars are not agreed as to the date when this coin was known in India. Vide Keith in *J.R.A.S.*, 1915, and his *H.S.L.*, p. 248—'The use of *dināra* . . . points definitely to a time after the Christian era'; p. 445—'The term *dināra* suggests a date not before the second century A.D.' Ref. indications for the *H.V.* here are to the Vangabasi edition.

[2] नृपा म्लेच्छाः . . । शकास्तुषारा दरदाः . . । स तैः परिवृतो राजा दस्युभिः म्लेच्छैरिव। (II. 57. 19, 21). Cf. *Manusaṃhitā*, X. 44, 45, which gives practically the same list of such tribes and for the date of which Keith (*H.S.L.*, p. 441) remarks: 'The wide limits of 200 B.C.–A.D. 200 are all that can be legitimately asserted.'

[3] *B.C.*, XI, 18: उग्रायुधस्योग्रहतायुधोऽपि येषां कृते मृत्युमवाप भीत्यात् and *S.A.*, VII. 44: स्वर्गं गते भर्तरि शन्तनौ च कालीं जिहीर्षन् जनमेजयः सः। अवाप भीत्यात् समवेत्य मृत्युं ॥

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utilizer of legends, e.g. in the *Buddhacarita*, the *Saundarānanda* and the *Vajrasūcī* (doubts about the ascription of which to Aśvaghoṣa have been sought to be met in the recent edition of that work published from Santiniketan)—has definitely referred to it. H. C. Raychaudhuri (in his *Indian Antiquities*, p. 174 and *History of Vaiṣṇavism and the Vaiṣṇava Sects*, p. 9) quotes this but at the same time remarks (p. 70): 'The genuine Purāṇas which relate the Kṛṣṇa story cannot be placed earlier than the third or fourth century A.D.' (This view is unobjectionable if it is held that the *H.V.* is not included in this category.) Similarly, more recently Prof. Mehendale (in the *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. II, p. 249) asserts: 'It (*H.V.*) is by no means the work of a single poet, nor even of one compiler, the text being a mass of legends and myths.' It is noteworthy, however, that the *H.V.* is included in the purview of the period 600 B.C. to A.D. 320 covered by the volume. The reason assigned, however, does not bear scrutiny and the view expressed requires to be discussed.

It is possible and even likely that a few chapters[1] (following the nomenclature of the epic proper the *H.V.* gives to them the name of *adhyāya* and not *sarga* as in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which latter in its execution side it has undoubtedly accepted as its model) are interpolations. It is hoped that the critical edition projected by the B.O.R.I., Poona, may offer some clue to this. It is, however, extravagant to include it in the class of much-tampered *purāṇas*. From the viewpoints of plan, execution and manner of expression it is more homogeneous than any other work of this type. Legends, professedly its subject-matter, are related in brief (*samāseṇa*) or in details (*vistareṇa*) (I. 1. 14–17) very often in the latter way. It is the earliest of the available accounts of the family and glory of Kṛṣṇa (*Vaiṣṇavam yaśah*, I. 42. 1) and of his contemporaries in the Kurukṣetra war. The other, even if closely following, authoritative *purāṇa* that treats of this is the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*[2] to which Pargiter has assigned the date of fourth century A.C. and which has very recently been rather boldly computed at 340 A.C. (vide *J.O.R.I.*, Baroda, Vol. 4, Nos. 2 and 3). The vindication of the mention of Kṛṣṇa as descended from both the Candra and Sūrya *vaṁśas*—a point, which has been slid over in later *purāṇas* and which has

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... are based on the *H.V.*, I. 20. 47–71. (स चाप्युग्रायुधस्तात दुर्बुद्धिरभवत्तदा। .. पितर्युपरते मह्यं त्रावयामास किल्बिषम्। ... अद्य त्वं जननीं भीष्म गन्धकालीं यशस्विनीम्। स्नीरत्नं मम भार्यार्थे प्रयच्छ कुरुपुङ्गव॥) This episode is not related in the original *Mbh.*, though a mere mention is met with (XII. 27. 10: येन चोग्रायुधो राजा ...। दग्धः शस्त्रप्रतापेन स मया युधि घातितः॥ which is a mere echo of the *H.V.*, I. 20. 71: स मयाऽस्त्रप्रतापेन निर्दग्धो रणमूर्धनि। *B.C.*, IV. 15 and *S.A.*, VII. 38, 42 are based on the *H.V.*, I. 26. 13, 21, 30, 31 with a possible confusion of ऐल with वेण in the former passage. *Vajrasūcī* reads *H.V.*, I. 24. 20-21 as तेऽपि जाताः ... a reading known amongst Bengal priests. *B.C.*, IV. 78 ≡ *H.V.*, I. 30–35. *B.C.*, IV. 19 ≒ *H.V.*, I. 31. 46-47.

[1] II. 77, 81; III. 3–21 (chaps.), and possibly I. 16–19 (chaps.), I. 55, II. 4, II. 48–54 (chaps.), III. 73–81 (chaps.), III. 85, III. 133, III. 134 are later additions.

The शेषधर्मघटक extract in 57 verses in the वेङ्कटाचलमाहात्म्य, Vol. II, pp. 349–356 (Calcutta, 1930), published under the supervision of Mm. Anantakṛṣṇa Sastri, alleged to be from the *H.V.*, where Yudhiṣṭhira asks for, and has, an account from Bhīṣma of ऋषगिरि or वेङ्कटाचल is not found in the Vang. and Bomb. editions and is obviously an interpolation.

[2] C. V. Vaidya (*History of Mediaeval Hindu Kings*, Vol. I) assigns end of eighth century (for later additions which have formed the present text).

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taxed the ingenuity of commentators[1]—may be adduced as an evidence for unitary plan and homogeneity of the *H.V.* (and not against it). We have had quite recently clever and plausible arguments for deciding this vexed problem in one way[2]; but that is another phase. Pargiter and, following him, other scholars have adduced other inconsistencies of this type in the *H.V.*[3]

It may be added that the *H.V.* has been the prototype of the *pancalakṣaṇa purāṇa*, a genus known since the days of the *Amarakoṣa* (fifth century A.C.) by which time this type of literature had established itself as a non-Vedic course of study different from its strictly Vedic counterpart as noted in pre-Buddhistic period by its inclusion in the curriculum of Upaniṣadic parlance. The *Mbh.* calls it *purāṇam khilasammitam*. However this may not carry full implication of that term of a near late date. While the five features[4] appear clearly demarcated in the text of the *H.V.*, one of them the *vaṁśānucarita*, as distinct from the feature *vaṁśa* which occurs in the later Vedic period, stands out prominent and has given to the *H.V.* its distinctive colour and appellation. In an alternative, perhaps later, characterization, this is substituted by *bhūmyādeścaiva samsthānam* (configuration of the planets, earth and the like) which is absent in the *H.V.* and which is a mark even of the 'early' *purāṇas* like the *Viṣṇu-p.* and is insisted on in later *purāṇas* like the *Bhāgavata*. The *ṣatsamvāda* feature of the *purāṇa* narration, which is in no way a traceable feature in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, obviously of the *kāvya* pattern, is also patent in the *H.V.*, particularly in its outer framework. At the same time its avowed plan of following the *Rāmāyaṇa* is noted (*idam mahākāvyam* . . .) (III. 6. 5) in a suspicious chapter in which, artlessly enough, it professes also to be a *purāṇa* (III. 6. 11), an *ākhyāna* (III. 6. 12), a *carita* (III. 6. 12, 13)—all in one. This is what has made it highly popular with poets like Aśvaghoṣa and Kālidāsa, with whom the *Rāmāyaṇa* was a hot favourite[5] and with masters like Śūdraka, Subandhu and Bāṇabhaṭṭa,[6] who availed themselves of its wonderful subject-matter in ways suitable to their genius.

As to its metrical apparatus, which betrays its antiquity, we have only two *āryās* (I. 1. 3, 7) which are very likely spurious, two *mālinī* verses (II. 106. 84; III. 132. 100), half a dozen *rucirā* (III. 9. 23; III. 10. 69; III. 11. 17; III. 33. 47; III. 34. 48; III. 36. 60) marking the end of three consecutive chapters in one lot and three in another such; three *vasantatilaka* verses (I. 114. 39–41) (over and above the two in the beginning which may

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[1] Vide *H.V.*, II. 37. 34 and Nīlakaṇṭha's justification: . . . सोमस्य वंशमनु ते तव वंशो भविष्यति सूर्यवंशाच्च्युतो भविष्यतीत्यर्थः। . . . अयमत्र समाधिः—एक एव यदुर्गर्दात् गर्दान्तरप्रवेशवत् योगबलेन सूर्यवंशेऽाविर्भूय सूर्यवंशं स्वपत्नम् आनीतवान्।

[2] D. R. Mankad in the *Bharatiya Vidya*, 1952.

[3] F. E. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 77–79, and R. C. Hajra, *Indian Culture*, Vol. II, pp. 231–39.

[4] Vide *Amarakoṣa*, *śabdādivarga* 5, and Bhānuji's commentary (*N.S.*, 4th edition, p. 65).

[5] For Kālidāsa vide *Kālidāsa and the Harivaṁśa* by the present writer (to be shortly out in *J.B.O.R.I.*).

[6] For Śūdraka, *Mṛch.*, I. 2: हमो वरपुलिश्रमनुश्रमे . . (Windisch's *Mahābhārata and the Kṛṣṇa Legends*, 1888). For Subandhu vide *Vāsavadattā*: (चरित्रंशैरिव पुष्कराच्चप्रादुर्भावरमणीयैः, p. 107, गोपालेनापि रामेण, p. 115 . . . Vanivilas Press edition, besides a ref. कठिनतरदामवेष्टन . . V. 3 introduction). As for Bāṇabhaṭṭa the legendary association of the अच्छोदसरोवर in the *Kādambarī* is inspired by the *H.V.*, I. 18. 26-27.

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be spurious); and no more verses in long syllabic metres. The whole work is thus predominantly in *sloka* metre, suited for narration and description with a rare admixture of the *vipulā* pattern thereof and of *upajāti* as in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and with a judicious but rare use of *śālinī*, *puṣpitāgrā*, *vaṁśastha* and of a few varieties of archaic irregular metres. The devices of antique *gāthās* [1] and *ślokas* embodied in gnomic and legendary matter, and of mannerisms,[2] of expressions like *iti naḥ śrutam*, *iti śrutiḥ*, *kim bhūyaḥ śrotumicchasi* invest a halo of antiquity which is heightened by the names and features of the characters introduced, whether divine[3] or human.[4] Scriptural sanctity is accorded in tradition to two verses from it (*sapta vyādhāḥ daśārṇeṣu . . . te'bhijātā kurukṣetre . . .* I. 24. 20, 21) cited in the *Vajrasūcī*, noted above, as to the verses *duryodhano manyumayo mahādrumaḥ . . .* and *yudhiṣṭhiro dharmamayo mahādrumaḥ . . .* in the main epic, as they are enjoined to be recited as *śravya mantras* along with *vedic mantras* in the *annadāna* operation in *śrāddha* offerings by authorities on *śrāddha-kalpa*. It is to be noted that the incarnations of the Lord which are enshrined in their glories (cf. I. 40 and I. 41) are nowhere in the *H.V.* designated as *avatāras* [5] but as *prādurbhāva* or *pravṛtti* like *janman* and *sambhava* as in the *Bh. Gīta*; and their enumeration is not of the type familiar to later *purāṇas*. Some of these are selected for special treatment in the third section. The emphasis on the rivalry of *paurāṇic* Trinity appears nowhere, the only exception being in III. chapters 73–81, which might have been an interpolation due to Śaiva influence. In the *stotras* [6] we have the manner and atmosphere of symbolism of *vedic samhitās* and *upaniṣadic* abstractions suffusing the lyric background.

The central figure in the *H.V.*, as in all Viṣṇuite *purāṇas*, is Śrīkṛṣṇa with this difference that he is a dual personality, being both a *prādurbhāva*, bent on dealing destruction to forces of evil and oppression like Kaṁsa with his host (Śiśupāla is left out and Jarāsandha is half touched, presumably because being a *khila*, the work should not cover the trodden ground of the main epic) and the *gopaveśa* Viṣṇu with his early exploits enacted amongst cowherds. His father Vasudeva is described as *goṣu niratah* living as a *gopāla* chief as well as a partial manifestation of the great Kaśyapa (I. 55. 35-36) welded into one but not an organic whole. The swain-like amours of him—and of his elder brother Rāma with his leanings (II. 88-89) towards *hallīśa* and *chālīkya* amusements—are all there, easily separable from the former aspect mixed in a form of *tila*-and-*taṇḍūla* relation. Among the heroic exploits of child Kṛṣṇa, the prominent one here, as in later accounts, is his holding aloft Mount Govardhana (II. 18; II. 19) which brings into relief both aspects [7] of his nature, the former, envisaging the dethronement of Indra, the chief deity of Vedic pantheon

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[1] e.g. I. 2. 12, 13; I. 10. 6; I. 20. 119–137; I. 32. 11; I. 37. 21; I. 41. 149; I. 52. 35, 36.

[2] e.g. I. 6. 18, 20, 24, 26; I. 15. 7; I. 20. 11; I. 40. 1.

[3] e.g. Indra, Tvastṛ, Varuṇa, Brahmaṇaspati, Bṛhaspati, Śrī, Aditi, Rudra.

[4] e.g. Uttanka, Kaśyapa, Sanatkumāra, Citrāngada, Vipracitti, Māriṣā, Śrāddhadeva, Hamsa.

[5] e.g. I. 40. 1; I. 41. 11; III. 7, 8, 9 (chaps.); अव + √हृ appears twice as verb in I. 55 (39, 41) which, we have noted, may be an interpolation.

[6] e.g. II. 72. 29–60; II. 74. 22–34; II. 125. 29–57; III. 47. 20–33; III. 87. 13–35 (predominantly of Vedic stuff).

[7] II. 19. 43, 45 (अहं किलेन्द्रो देवानां त्वं गवामिन्द्रतां गतः। गोविन्द इति लोकास्त्वां स्तोष्यन्ति . . .) and 47 (ये चेमे वार्षिका मासास्चत्वारो विदिता मम। एषामर्धं प्रयच्छामि शरत्कालं तु पश्चिमम् ॥ . . .), 48–50.

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and the latter, dividing his honours as the god of harvest with the divinity of rich vegetation. The under-current of primitive tradition embodying wonderful feats (*āścarya-caryā*) glorifying rural life which is palpable in this early Kṛṣṇa-saga has been sought to be enshrouded in later *purāṇas* that have turned jubilantly to *śāstric* lore and legends for explanation. Nīlakaṇṭha, in his commentary on the *H.V.*, as is his practice, occasionally noted in the main epic too (e.g. IV. 50. 13; V. 13. 23), has sought ingeniously to connect this with three Vedic hymns (*R.V.*, I. 156. 4; I. 154. 6; X. 166. 1), the second of which along with several other Viṣṇu hymns are utilized in other circles (e.g. in the *Ṣatsandarbha* of Jīva Gosvāmin) to emphasize the glory of Kṛṣṇa and of his haunt, the land of *gokula* or *vraja-bhūmi*. Walter Ruben[1] has tried to arrive at a hypothetical text of the original Kṛṣṇa epic, which he considers as earlier, because it is less elaborate and artificial than the *H.V.* and *Viṣ-Pur.* texts, on the basis of what is nothing but a later summarized version in the *Brahma-purāṇa*.[2] Such a text may be a simplified Kṛṣṇa epic but is certainly not a factual text. He has carried his bias against descriptions and elegancies, though they are germane to the style which was long in vogue from the days of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and which the *H.V.* has chosen throughout for itself (e.g. II. 94. 5, 6) as its model.

In the matter of dating such a work external evidence in the shape of references to contemporary events or events of a near past is a great help. This has been the line in which present-day native scholars like C. V. Vaidya and R. C. Hajra as much as western indologists like Vincent Smith and Pargiter in the past have proceeded. Some of the *purāṇas*—early *purāṇas* like the *Vāyu* and the *Mārkaṇḍeya*—should betray attempts at touching and retouching if the cryptic references to them in the *H.V.* (I. 7. 13, 22, 25; I. 9. 60; I. 16. 45) are decisive. It is likely that this tendency was availed of in the case of the *H.V.*, too, which has been the precursor or the pioneer *purāṇa* of a fixed type. It is also significant that, unlike other *purāṇas* which give genealogies, the *H.V.* takes them up to the heroes who figured in the *Mahābhārata* War and were likely to be contemporaneous [e.g. Bṛhadbala (I. 15. 34) of the solar line] thereto. The *H.V.* text supplies us with at least three indications which, it is a pity, students of ancient history have not yet seized upon. Two of them occur in its *Bhaviṣyaparvan* as just in consonance with the practice of the *purāṇas* giving accounts of dynasties, which they finish with near-about contemporary history that is introduced in the manner of prophecies. This is in evidence in III. 3 and III. 4, the concluding moralizing verses whereof (III. 3. 43 and III. 4. 44–53) are sought to be explained by commentators in their usual way. As in the very recent happenings, we have a reference in the passage to sporadic occurrences[3] which are vague and introduce matter which is the stock-in-trade of the *purāṇas* and which may be chucked out as an interpolation. The second reference traceable heralds the advent of the last (generally counted as the tenth and in the

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[1] In *Studies in Indian Epic* (*J.A.O.S.*, 1941); and *Original Text of the Kṛṣna Epic* (*Studies in Indology* in commemoration of Dr. F. W. Thomas, Poona, 1927).

[2] The present *Br. Pur.* with its metrical apparatus, its emphasis on *vyūhavāda* (ch. 178), its use of other *purāṇas* (esp. *Viṣnupur.*); its professed manner of summarizations, its account of Lord Jagannātha (chap. 181), etc., in its section on *Purusottamamāhātmya* is definitely later. Chapters 213, etc., show that it was building on the *H.V.*, in its manner, matter and language.

[3] III. 4. 28–31: स्वयंपालाः स्वयंचोराः .. स्वदेशेभ्यः परिभ्रष्टाः . . . स्वल्पे सस्यादाये कुमारान् विद्रुता भयात्। . . गिरिद्रोणीः संश्रयिष्यन्ति मानवाः ॥

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H.V. also (I. 41) the tenth) incarnation of the Lord as Kalkin.[1] This is the first-known reference in *paurāṇic* literature on this point and therefore the most direct one. Consistently with the practice in *purāṇas*, this may be, and has been, interpreted in our times (by the late K. P. Jayasval in a paper read in the All-Bengal Literary Conference held at Bankipur in December, 1916) as connected with the quelling of serious disturbances by nomadic and piratic hordes like the Śakas and Daradas by a Brahmana (*dvija*) *prābhu* (ruler). The relevant passage is a bit ambiguous, perhaps with a purpose. Commentators see here a reference to the crushing of the *pāṣaṇḍa* Buddhists in the Gangetic Doab region (vide Nīlakaṇṭha on I. 42. 165).

The really decisive and very important passage in this matter is III. 2. 38–41.[2] Ruben is inclined to regard this entire chapter as a relatively 'late addition'. It is, however, a relevant chapter and must be regarded as forming an integral part of the work. Even if Ruben's contention is accepted, this will serve to fix the determinative character of the genuine *H.V.*, like the passages in the *Viṣṇu* and the *Bhāgavata purāṇas* giving the chronology of the later dynasties. To the question put by Janamejaya to Vyāsa about the discontinuance in later history of the fateful and ominous *rājasūya* and of the *aśvamedha* sacrifice, the efficacy of which is described as depending on the time-factor (*tat*) (this is how the corrupt [*tatpraṇeya* (?) or *utpraṇeya*] in III. 2. 32 is interpreted by Nīlakaṇṭha) and on the integrity of the *brāhmaṇa* priests who are disparagingly described as sellers of the fruits of sacrifices therein (*yajñaphalānām ca vikretāro dvijātayaḥ*) Vyāsa replies incidentally that *kṣatriyas* would not in future undertake them (III. 2. 35, 41) and that a *brāhmaṇa* general of the Kāśyapa *gotra* described as *audbhijja*, which is fancifully explained by Nīlakaṇṭha, would perform or reinstitute (*pratyāhariṣyati* from a root which is familiar in inscriptional literature) the *aśvamedha* in the *kaliyuga* and that one of his successors would undertake the *rājasūya* which would bring ruin on him and on his family, just as the white planet (*śvetagraha*) Venus at the moment of an auspicious journey is brought forward by the all-eater Time (*antaka*) to spell disaster. Nīlakaṇṭha (on III. 2. 41) unfortunately misses the point in this comparison which is known to students of literature from *Kumāra*. III. 43 (*kāmah puraśśukram iva prayāṇe*). *Audbhijja* is a deluding term not known in old annals. Was the author intentionally deluding, because he would not directly mention the family for obvious reasons, he being his near contemporary? It is a word with nominal-suffix coming from *udbhijja* (*udbhid*+*ja*) which term may be applied to the Sungas, which name means an offshoot (sprout) as in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, VI. 8. 3. This rare cryptic word would thus mean associated with the Sungas. This is the way how Kaṇvas or Kāṇvayanas, their successors, with a short spell of royal power covered by four kings, as in the list of the authentic *purāṇas*, are introduced in the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*.[3] It is noteworthy that in the *gotra*-

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[1] I. 41. 164–166: कल्की विष्णुयशा नाम .. द्विजः। ..भूयश्चोत्पत्स्यते प्रभुः। ... याज्ञवल्क्यपुरःसरः ....। गङ्गायमुनयोर्मध्ये निष्ठां प्राप्स्यति सानुगः॥

[2] III. 2. 28–41 (esp. vs. 39–41): उपात्तयज्ञो देवेषु ब्राह्मणेषूपपत्स्यते। .. औद्भिज्जो भविता कश्चित् सेनानीः काश्यपो द्विजः। अश्वमेधं कलियुगे पुनः प्रत्याहरिष्यति॥ तद्युगे तत्कुलोनश्च राजसूयमपि क्रतुम्। आहरिष्यति राजेन्द्र श्वेतग्रहमिवान्तकः॥ Nīlakaṇṭha comments: उद्भिद्य जायत इत्युद्भिज्जो भूविलस्रो योगी खन्यमानायां भुवि प्रकटीभविष्यतीत्यर्थः।

[3] IV. 24. 10: ततः कण्वायनेषु भूर्यास्यति। देवभूतिं शुङ्गराजानं व्यसनिनं तस्यैवामात्यः काण्वो वासुदेवनामा निपात्य ....।

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pravara list of *ṛṣis* in old authoritative works[1]—and the *Harivaṁśa-smṛti* is accredited as one of such—we find a *pravara auśija* by name, associated with the Kāśyapas and the Kaṇvas. Was *auśijya* corrupted to *audbhijja* by scribes? In that case, too, the self-same royal family is indicated.

We can thus conclude that the *H.V.* was certainly an authoritative text by the first century A.C. and its later redaction took place about the end of the second or the beginning of the third century A.C.

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[1] The following extracts from the *Nirṇayasindhu* will make this clear (N.S. 4th ed., Bombay):

(i) कण्वाः—एषामाङ्गिरसाजमौढ्कण्वेति चयः (p. 214). (ii) औशिज्जाः—एषामाङ्गिरसौशिजकाक्षीवतेति चय इत्यापस्तम्बः। आङ्गिरसायास्यौशिजगौतमकाक्षीवतेति पञ्चेति कात्यायनः (p. 213). (iii) अथ काश्यपाः—ते पञ्च निध्रुवाः . . . . लौगाक्षयश्च। लौगाक्षिः—द्यमान् द्विगोचविषये कथयिष्यामः (p. 216). (iv) अथ द्विगोचाः—शौङ्गशैशिराणामाङ्गिरस . . . इति पञ्च (pp. 217-18). (v) वक्रचयुतौ—यथैवाङ्गिरस . . इति। अङ्गिरोगणत्वेन भार्गवजामदग्न्यत्वस्मृतेर्हरिवंशस्मृतेश्च बाधात् (as in the *H.V.*, I. 27. 35-36).

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FOOD PROHIBITION IN SMṚTI TEXTS

By S. Sen Gupta

1. Our ancient Smṛtis constitute the most complete code of human behaviour ever conceived. The lawgivers lay down detailed rules meant to guide the Hindu in every conceivable matter throughout his life. The scope of the Smṛti text is the entire life of the Hindu from conception to death—and the lawgivers do not forget him even after his exit from the world. His descendants must offer him food and drink regularly to keep him satisfied and elaborate rules have been laid down as to what should and what should not be offered to the ancestors, the manner of such offering, who may or may not be invited, and so on. Needless to say there are even more elaborate sets of rules prescribing what a Hindu may or may not eat while he is alive.

These rules are very interesting and as they show to some extent the food habits of ancient Indians, a discussion of these rules are certainly of some value for the student of the evolution of the Indian culture.

Mahāmahopadhyāya P. V. Kāne has discussed most aspects of the subject with his characteristic thoroughness in his monumental *History of the Dharma Śāstras* (Vol. II, Part II, pp. 771–91) but he has practically stated nothing regarding the identification of the various animals, plants and vegetables named by the Smṛtikāras. To this particular topic he has devoted only two pages. Endeavour is made in what follows to treat the subject in some detail. We shall present three lists—one of foods prohibited by the Smṛti texts, one of foods which must not be offered to the manes and a third of foods recommended for offering to the departed. As regards plants and vegetables, an attempt has been made to supply the current botanical names for which I am grateful for the kind help ungrudgingly rendered by Sri Srinivasam, officer-in-charge of the Economic Botany section of the Indian Museum. The problem of identification has been far from easy. Other aspects of the subject have also been briefly dealt with by way of introduction to the tables to make the article self-sufficient. For details *Kāne H.D.S., II*, is the obvious reference.

Smṛtis are now practically relics of old days. Except in cases of religious ceremonies, few bother about the endless restrictions. Even at times of birth, marriage, death and śrāddha the rules are seldom observed with all their strictness. The priests themselves have bowed down to the times—they have been compelled to relax the rigour of the laws to please and keep their clients.

The rules regarding prescription and prohibition of foods are among those which are least observed by the educated Hindu. Except in regard to beef, there seems to be no real taboo. Pork is not objected to by many though usually the Brāhmaṇas still abhor it. There is practically no prejudice against fowl. One does not eat horse-flesh or lion's meat not because the śāstras prohibit them but because of personal prejudice. Nobody does any penance prescribed in the śāstras for partaking of prohibited foods. Few even know that one may not eat a large variety of vegetables and fruits. People are even more ignorant about the rules laid down regarding what may or may not be offered at the śrāddha.

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2. Even now Brāhmaṇas all over India with the exception of Bengal are mostly vegetarians.[1] Those of Bengal, except the most orthodox, freely eat fish and also goat-flesh and mutton. A perusal of the Smṛtis will show that our ancestors were meat-[2] and fish-eaters and they also were fond of wine.[3] Ancient Indians seem to have taken beef rather freely as will appear from the *Dharma-Sūtras* of Gautama, Āpastamba and from some later Smṛtis as well. Āpastamba prohibits धेनु, milch cow, and अनड्वह्, plough oxen, quite reasonably. Printed text[4] of Gautama is just the reverse and is most probably corrupt. It is well known that in ancient times guests were offered beef which must have been considered a delicacy. It is enough for us to refer the reader to Yājñavalkya, Āchāra, s. 109[5] and to Pāṇini, III, 4, 73.[6] Neither Manu nor Yājñavalkya prohibits beef though penances are prescribed somewhat illogically for killing cows. Beef, mutton and goat-flesh seem to have been acceptable to Brāhmaṇas even at the time of Medhātithi who flourished in the eighth or ninth century A.D.[7]

According to many authorities, it was compulsory to offer meat and wine at śrāddhas. Devala[8] goes so far as to say that a śrāddha without offering of meat is no śrāddha at all. According to Manu,[9] Yājñavalkya[9] and other authorities, certain animals are specially recommended for sacrifice at the time of śrāddhas. Among such animals are boar (वराह), cow (गो), buffalo (महिष), deer (हरिण), goat (छाग), sheep (उरभ्र), rhinoceros (खड्ग); and also gayāl (गवय) according to some. One text[10] mentions even the porpoise (शिशुमार). Among fish, pāṭhīna (पाठीन) and rohita (रोहित) had to be offered to gods before they could be eaten.[11] It was not enough merely to sacrifice these animals, the offerer was compelled to partake of the meat at the cost of severe penance. Thus, according to Manu,[12] if the offerer refuses to partake of the meat offered at the śrāddha, he will be born as a beast no less than twenty-one times. According to others,[13] such offerer was to stew in hell for as many years as there were hairs on the body of the sacrificed animals. Among other animals which were recommended for sacrifice at the śrāddhas are mahāśalka (महाशल्क) variously explained[14]

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[1] Gauḍa Sāraswat Brāhmaṇas of Konkan and some Maithil Brāhmaṇas of Bihar eat fish.

[2] On the subject of meat-eating, vide Kāne, *op. cit.*, pp. 772–81.

[3] On drinking of wine, vide pp. 757–58, *op. cit.*

[4] Ānandāśrama edition.

[5] मधोक्तं वा मधाजं वा श्रोत्रियायोपकल्पयेत्। Also वहत्यचत्राह्मणेषु श्रूयते तद्यथवादो मनुष्यराज श्वागतेऽन्यस्मिन् वार्हति उक्षाणं वा वेहतं वाक्षतद्न्त इति (Haradatta on Gautama).

[6] दाशगोघ्नौ सम्प्रदाने।

[7] On Manu, V, 18, गोऽव्यजमृगा भक्ष्याः। Also गोऽव्यजमांसमेवानुपाकृतशब्देन विवक्षितम् (*ibid.*, V, 7). Śaṁkha prescribes penance for eating beef. The injunction is explained as being not applicable to eating of beef at śrāddhas and madhuparkas.

[8] विना मांसेन यच्छ्राद्धं क्षतमप्यक्षतं भवेत् (Devala in Hemādri).

[9] Manu, III, 268–72; Yāj., I, 258–60.

[10] *Skanda Purana*, Nagarakhaṇḍa (in Hemādri); Prachetas in *Smṛti Chandrikā*.

[11] Manu, V, 16.

[12] स प्रेत्य पशुतां याति सम्भवन्नेकविंशतिम् (Manu, V, 35).

[13] यावन्ति पशुरोमाणि तावन्निरयमश्नुते (Paiṭhīnasi in Hemādri).

[14] सशल्कमत्स्याः (Medhā.); शल्काः (Hemādri). Dr. S. L. Hora thinks it means the mahseer fish.

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as a fish with big scales or a porcupine (शल्यक), loha (लोह), explained[1] either as a goat black or brown all over or a kind of 'bird' and वार्ध्रीणस which is explained as a rhinoceros according to lexicons,[2] but as a bird or an old goat according to commentators.[3] Later on, offering of meat at śrāddhas came to be strictly prohibited. The text usually quoted in support is the late *Bṛhannāradiya Purāna*.[4]

By the time of Manu it seems that meat-eating was already somewhat out of favour. Meat could be taken only at sacrifices to gods and ancestors, to please guests, to save life and, it is interesting to note, at the request of Brāhmaṇas—but only once according to Yama !![5] Kṣatriyas were given the liberty to partake of meat of animals killed by themselves. All the restrictions regarding food were meant for the three upper castes but specially for Brāhmaṇas. Śūdras apparently could eat whatever they liked. Beef-eating was probably completely prohibited by the eleventh century. In course of perhaps one hundred years more Brāhmaṇas all over the country except Bengal became vegetarians.

As regards the beasts, there are certain general prohibitions.[6] The most important are those relating to five-nailed (पञ्चनख) animals, animals

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1 लोहः कृष्णच्छागः सर्वरक्तो वा, अन्ये तु शकुनिर्लोहशृष्ठनामा इत्याहुः। लोहशृष्ठ is कङ्क, *Ardea purpurea*.

2 e.g. *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*, *Kalpadrukośa*, etc.,

3 चिपिवन्त्विन्द्रियचौणं श्वेतं दक्षमजापतिम्।
वार्ध्रीणसं तु तं प्राऽऽर्याङ्गिकाः पिटलर्मणि॥
—(Medhātithi on Manu, III.)

Also

कृष्णग्रीवो रक्तशिराः श्वेतपक्षो विहङ्गमः।
स वै वार्ध्रीणसः प्रोक्त इत्येषा वैदिकी श्रुतिः॥

Smṛti Chandrikā quotes Viṣṇudharmottara :

चिपिवन्त्विन्द्रियचौणं यूयस्याग्रचरन्नथा।
रक्तवर्णं तु राजेन्द्र छागं वार्ध्रीणसं विदुः॥

रक्त here is explained to mean white (श्वेत) !

4 समुद्रयातुः स्वीकारः कमण्डलुविधारणम्। द्विजानामसवर्णासु कन्यासूपयमस्तथा॥
देवराच्च सुतोत्पत्तिर्मधुपर्के पशोर्वधः। मांसदानं तथा श्राद्धे वानप्रस्थाश्रमस्तथा॥
दत्ताच्चतायाः कन्यायाः पुनर्दानं परस्य च। दीर्घकालं ब्रह्मचर्यं नरमेधाश्वमेधकौ।
महाप्रस्थानगमनं गोमेधश्च तथा मखः॥ इमान् धर्मान् कलौ युगे वर्ज्यानाहुर्मनीषिणः॥

For other details see *Nirnayasindhu* and Hemādri. Also Kāne, *op. cit.*, III, ch. xxxiv and Bhattāchārya, Kali-Varjya (C.U.P.).

5 प्रोक्षितं भक्षयेन् मांसं ब्राह्मणानां च काम्यया। यथाविधि नियुक्तं च प्राणानामपि चात्यये॥
Manu, V, 27 and Yj., I, 179 are to the same effect. Yama reads '... सकृद् ब्राह्मणकाम्यया.'

6 Manu, V, 17-18; Yj., I, 177; Gautama, II, 8, 27; Āpastamba, I, 5, 37; Baudh., I, 5, 152, etc. There are six exceptions श्वाविध्, गोधा, खड्ग, कूर्म, शश, शल्यक; Āpastamba adds पूतिस्रष. खड्ग is not पञ्चनख according to Baudhāyana. सेधा (Yj., etc.) is identical with शल्यक. See p. 172 for further discussion regarding श्वाविध्, शल्यक and खड्ग.

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with one hoof[1] and also animals with two rows of teeth[2] and there is, of course, quite a long list of beasts which may not be eaten, such as, lions, tigers, leopards, rats, dogs, jackals, elephants, asses and monkeys. Most of these would be prohibited by the general rules and their special mention may indicate disapproval of food habits of the aboriginals with whom the ancient Hindus came into close contact, so much so that many tribes must have become very early affiliated to the Hindu fold.

At the time of Manu it seems that porcupines (शल्यक), tortoises (कूर्म), rabbits (शश), iguanas (गोधा), deer and antelopes (मृग) as also rhinoceroses, goats and sheep were not prohibited even to Brāhmaṇas. Wild boars (वराह or अग्राम्यसूकर) as also wild fowl (आरण्यकुक्कुट) were likewise allowed. The Brāhmaṇas had become vegetarians by the time *Parāśara Samhitā* was written; for Parāśara prescribes penance for even killing deer, goat and sheep.[3]

Nobody would now think of eating snakes, ospreys, hawks, vultures and crows. But these are also prohibited by name. I have not been able to understand why our sages were so very particular about śarabha (शरभ), a mythical eight-footed monster before which even the lion quailed in terror.[4] Even penance is prescribed for killing a śarabha (शरभ)!! Does it mean something else, for instance, a locust? According to *Medinī*, a शरभ may mean a camel or a variety of monkey.[5]

3. There are certain general rules regarding birds also; thus carrion-eaters (क्रव्याद), fish-eaters (मत्स्याद), web-footed birds (जालपाद), 'peckers' (प्रतुद) and 'scatterers' (विष्किर) must not be eaten. Peckers (प्रतुद) are birds of prey such as hawk. But these are meat-eaters and fish-eaters as well. The general rules are obviously not exclusive of each other. According to Gautama, as we find in the printed text,[6] peckers (प्रतुद), web-footed birds (जालपाद) and scatterers (विष्किर) are *not* prohibited. The commentator takes great pains to explain that these may be eaten in times of distress![7] The text seems to be corrupt however. There is also a long list of birds by name many of which would be prohibited by the general rules. Some commentators explain that their special mention indicates that these are to be specially abhorred.[8] Others explain that their special mention indicates that others of the same class may be eaten—but in times of distress only.[9]

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1 एकशफ (Manu, V, II; Yj., I, 172).

2 उभयतोदतः (Gautama, II, 8, 28) एकतोदतः animals with the exception of camels may be eaten (Manu, V, 18); such animals include cows, goats, sheep and deer. Yj. does not except camels.

3 Parāśara prescribes penance even for eating brinjals.

4 According to its usual descriptions, it has the shape of a camel with eight legs, four upturned, and eyes also upturned. 'अष्टपादूर्ध्वनयनः ऊर्ध्वपादचतुष्टयः Dalvaṇa Misra says that the animal is well known in Kashmir!! अष्टापद उष्ट्रप्रमाणो महाशृङ्गः पृष्ठगतश्चतुष्पादः काश्मीरेषु प्रसिद्धः।

5 शरभस्तु पशौभिद्वि करभे वानरभिदि (*Medinī*).

6 Manu, V, 11–14; Yj., 172–75.

7 Gautama, II, 8, 35.

8 निन्दातिशयसूचनार्थम्।

9 cf. Medhātithi (V, 12) जालपादनिषेधेनैव सिद्धं पृथग्ग्रहणन्तु अन्येषामापदि विकल्पार्थम्। So also Kullūka.

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Āpastamba and Gautama prohibited only a few kinds of fish, allowing other fish whether with or without scales. Baudhāyana prohibits *all* fish with the exception of a few varieties. Manu and Yājñavalkya had certain reservations but they allowed fish with scales and some other varieties.[1] They are followed by Yama and Paiṭhīnasi. Later on, fish seems to have been prohibited altogether.[2]

In Bengal Brāhmaṇas generally have no objection to any fish with scales, goat-flesh and mutton and so it seems that they follow Manu more closely even now than their brothers elsewhere. But beef is abhorred equally in Bengal as elsewhere.

4. Buddhism and Jainism are not solely responsible for vegetarianism in India. Even Asoka did not prohibit meat-eating altogether. His Delhi-Topra edict[3] prohibits only certain kinds of meat which include ants, bats, iguanas, porcupines, tortoises and rhinoceroses. The edict prohibits the killing of the following animals:—

> सुक (parrots), सालिक (mainas), अलुन चकवाक (the ruddy goose or the nandimukha bird), हंस (wild goose), गेलाट (?), जतूक (bat or flying fox), अम्बाकपिलिका (queen-ant), दुडि (terrapin), अनठिक मच (boneless fish), गंगापुपुडक (?), वेदवेयक (?), संकुज मच (skate fish), कफट सेयक (tortoise and porcupine ?), पखणश्रश (squirrel ?), सिमल (barasing stag), सगडक (bull set at liberty), ओकपिंड (vermin, like iguana, etc.), पलसत (rhinoceros), सेतकपोत (white dove), ग्रामकपोत (domestic dove or pigeon), all quadrupeds which are neither useful nor edible, she-goats, ewes and sows which are either young or in milk and also their young which are less than six months old.

Fish could not be sold or caught on certain days.

It will be noted that even by the time of Asoka beef-eating was not prohibited.

The edict was issued in the twenty-sixth year of the Emperor's reign and may be taken to be the farthest limit of Asoka's attempt to preserve animal life. For a long time two peacocks and one deer used to be killed daily for the royal table![4]

5. There are no general rules regarding vegetables but there are long lists of prohibitions and equally long lists of vegetables recommended for offering at the time of śrāddhas. Needless to say, that except in respect of a few items, each authority has his own list, and in some cases there is contradiction as well. Manu, Yājñavalkya and the Sūtra texts mention only a few items, the Purāṇas being responsible for the longer lists. Hence, it appears reasonable to hold that for the most part the later authorities record regional customs.

According to some authorities, अलाबु (bottle-gourd), उदुम्बर (fig), कूष्माण्ड (ash-gourd), पोतिका (Indian spinach), मसूर (*Lens esculenta*) and वार्ताकु (brinjal) are prohibited, but in Bengal even in Brāhmaṇa households one or more of them are included in the daily menu. Among items prohibited

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[1] सशल्कास्त्वेव सर्वशः (Manu, V, 16). Also Yj., I, 178.
[2] cf. Devala.
[3] For text and translation with notes, see Appendix.
[4] See Rock Edict I. Text and translation in Appendix.

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at the śrāddhas but extensively eaten are आढकी, मसूर, माष, मुद्ग, अलाबु, वार्ताकु, कूष्माण्ड, पटोल, करञ्ज, पोतिका, पालङ्क्य, जम्बीर, जम्बु, नारिकेल, मरीच, क्षणाजीरक, हिङ्गु and in many households also पलाण्डु.[1]

Were these included in our diet later, or are they prohibited because they are non-indigenous?

In view of the thousands of rules prohibiting this or that in every sphere of life, the life of an orthodox Hindu must have been very irksome and hard indeed. Even the prohibitions regarding food alone are so many that one may be driven crazy if enjoined to follow every one of them. Either the Smṛti rules were not meant to be seriously observed or else our ancestors were supermen. No wonder Hemādri laments that if all the prohibitions have to be observed in the matter of daily offerings to the ancestors, Brāhmaṇas would have perforce to go hungry![2]

6. There have been attempts to classify the endless rules regarding food restrictions. The most elaborate seems to be that suggested by the author of *Mitāksarā* in the chapter on Penances in *Yājñavalkya Samhitā*. The prohibitions are classified as—

(1) उच्छिष्टान्न, leavings especially of animals, outcastes and women.

(2) अशुचिसंस्पृष्टान्न, food touched by unclean animals and outcastes.

(3) अशुचिद्रव्यसंस्पृष्टान्न, food contaminated by unclean things.

(4) भावदुष्ट, food revolting to sight.

(5) कालदुष्ट, stale food and food which may not be taken in particular months, days (तिथि) or hours. Raddish is prohibited in the month of माघ, meat on full and new moon days, curds at night and so on.

(6) परिग्रहान्न, food from persons having specified avocations, e.g. from physicians, actors, etc.

(7) अशौचपरिग्रहान्न, food from persons ceremonially impure, e.g. because of birth or death.

(8) अपुत्राद्यन्न, food from childless persons. A Brāhmaṇa should also not take food cooked by his own daughter!

(9) हस्तदानादिक्रियादुष्टान्न, food given by hand, etc., which should be given by a spoon; food at feasts where thieves, outcastes, etc., are invited; food offered at śrāddhas of non-Brāhmaṇas.

(10) स्वभावदुष्ट, unclean things, i.e. अशुचिद्रव्य.

(11) जातिदुष्ट, articles specially prohibited. We are specially concerned with this class.

7. Without going into details,[3] the rules prohibit food which is revolting by their nature, shape or colour and also food in which such things are found. Thus none would eat blood, hair, sinews, or worms,

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[1] For botanical names see List, p. 188 ff.

[2] ..प्रतिदिनं हि कूष्माण्डादिद्रव्यवर्जनपूर्वकमन्ननिष्पादनस्याशक्यत्वात्.

[3] See the Digests of Chandeswara, Hemādri, Mitra Miśra, etc. Manu, Chapters IV and V, etc.

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and food in which these are found. One should not eat vegetables growing in unclean places, such as तण्डुलीयक. But Baudhāyana[1] would prohibit only the stalk and not either the flowers or the leaves!! One should not eat food touched by crows, fowls, dogs, cats, rats, asses and cows. Food not actually touched but even smelt by dogs and cows is prohibited. Some would go further and prohibit food even *seen* by dogs and chāṇḍālas! Sumantu would prohibit food over which some one has spoken.[2] Manu and Viṣṇu prohibit food pecked by birds in general. But Chaṇḍeswara seems to explain that only sparrows are meant by the word पतत्रिन्! Food touched by feet, unless accidentally, and even by the loose end of one's cloth should not be taken nor food given by a person in dirty clothes. Brāhmaṇas must not eat food purchased from shops. One must not even eat food given in iron plates, in leaves of lotus (पद्म) and of trees such as अश्वत्थ.

One would certainly object to food offered by a leper, and may object to eat leavings, उच्छिष्ट. Brâhmaṇas must not eat food offered by women who have no issue, by one emasculated and should, of course, avoid food offered by persons ceremonially impure due to some birth or death in the family. It is, however, interesting to note that Brāhmaṇas must not eat food cooked by their own daughters![3] Moral impurity was considered as much important as ceremonial impurity in the matter of food and one was asked to avoid food offered by traitors, irreligious persons, thieves, cheats, drunkards, infuriated persons, persons who are controlled by women, outcastes and women who have paramours in their houses. Some authorities go further and include in the list persons who are cursed, who are afraid, who are crying and who are amazed. Food offered by sons of a twice-married woman is also prohibited showing disapproval of such marriages. Brāhmaṇas are asked to refuse food not offered with due respect, and one authority specially recommends taking of food offered respectfully even by a thief.[4] Food offered by a proud person as also food meant for a non-Brahmin (पर्यायान्न) is to be avoided and also food generally offered to the multitude (सङ्घुष्टान्न) by proclamation.[5]

We need not discuss rules which prohibit particular vegetables on various lunar days or months. Thus one must not eat meat on full moon and new moon days and must not eat raddish in the month of Māgha.[6]

The Brāhmaṇa is generally asked not to accept food offered by persons belonging to other castes but food offered by Śūdras and Chāṇḍālas are to be scrupulously avoided. But there are significant exceptions. Āpastamba was a very practical man. He allows food cooked even by Śūdras

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1 अमेध्येषु च ये दृष्टा उप्ताः पुष्पफलोपगाः।
तेषामपि न दूष्यन्ति पुष्पाणि च फलानि च ॥ —Baudh. in GR.

2 वचोऽभिहृतं, i.e. यस्यान्नस्योपरि वागुच्चारिता —GR.

3 Ym. in GR. स्वसुतान्नन्तु यो भुङ्क्ते स भुङ्क्ते पृथिवीमलम्. According to *Āditya Purāṇa* the restriction is as regards daughters having no issue (अप्रजा).

4 यद्धानस्य भोक्तव्यं चौरस्यापि विशेषतः Vaśiṣṭha in GR.

5 Yj., I, 168; Manu, IV, 209 (घुष्टान्न). Manu reads पर्याचान्न for पर्यायान्न.

6 See *Padma* and *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇas*.

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to be taken if so done under the supervision of a Brāhmaṇa.[1] Other authorities allow food offered by Śūdras of certain categories such as one's slave, milkmen, barbers and family friends.[2] Similarly, there is a special prohibition in respect of food offered by persons following certain avocations and belonging to certain subcastes. The list is quite long and includes hunters, dyers, washermen, distillers of wine (brewers), prostitutes, oil-crushers, tailors, weavers, blacksmiths, potters, carpenters, cobblers, sellers of hides, goldsmiths and some others. Interesting inclusions are of physicians by most authorities and of hermits and writers[3] by Sumantu. Saṁkha and Likhita include in the list kings and priests[4] as well.

Uncooked meat, butchered meat and dried meat are prohibited as also meat and fish made high by putting under earth.[5] Only milk of cows, goats and buffaloes are allowed to be taken and there is special prohibition against milk of sheep, camel, one-hoofed animals such as asses and horses, of wild animals except of goats and buffaloes, and against human milk.[6] Even as regards milk of cows, goats and buffaloes, there are restrictions. One must not take their milk if they are in their periods or in heat or if they have lost their young or if they have brought forth more than one young in one litter and also if ten days have not expired from their delivery.[7] Brāhmaṇas were somewhat selfish in that good cow milk (कपिलाक्षीर) was reserved only for Brāhmaṇas.[8]

Stale food (पर्युषित), that is, prepared the day before, and articles of food kept overnight are prohibited but there is a long list of exceptions such as vegetables (शाक), soup (यूष, सूप), meat (मांस), ghee (सर्पिस्), molasses (गुड), curds (दधि), honey (मधु), flour of gram or barley (सक्तु), preparations of barley, wheat or milk (यवगोधूमज, पयःविक्रिया), food prepared or kept in oil or ghee (तैलपक्व, स्नेहाक्त), remains of food offered at sacrifice (हविःशेष), oil (स्नेह), sweets (भक्ष्य, फाणित), pressed rice (पृथुक), cakes of rice, etc.

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[1] आर्याधिष्ठिता वा शूद्राः संस्कर्तारः स्युः; Āpastamba, II, 1, 4. This rule is not applicable to Kali age.

[2] शूद्रेषु दासगोपालकुलमित्रार्धसीरिणः। भोज्यान्ना नापितश्चापि यश्चात्मानं निवेदयेत्॥ Yj., I, 166. Devala adds कुम्भकार (potter). This rule is also not applicable to Kali age.

[3] यति is explained as ब्रह्मचारिन् and लेखक as चित्रकर by Chandeśwara.

[4] राजपुरोहितान्नानि. On this aspect of the subject, vide Kāne, *op. cit.*, pp. 785–91 for details.

[5] क्षुद्रौषपक्व is explained as भौमोष्णपक्व.

[6] Yājñavalkya means a woman as also female animal with two teats (*Mitākṣarā*). On prohibition *re.* milk, vide Kāne, II, Pt. II, pp. 782-3.

[7] Gautama prohibits स्यन्दिनीदुग्ध; स्यन्दिनी is either स्वयमेव क्षीरं प्रस्यन्दमाना or प्रस्यन्दमानयोनि. Others prohibit सन्धिनीदुग्ध. सन्धिनी is variously explained, e.g. (1) दुष्यन्ती, (2) या उभयोः कालयोः प्राप्तदोहा कथञ्चिदन्यतरच दुह्यते (Medhā.), i.e. untimely milked, (3) या सूतवत्सा वत्सान्तरसन्धानेन दुह्यते सेति केचित्, i.e. cow which has lost her calf. See *Smṛti Chandrikā* for a detailed discussion.

[8] त्रिषवश्चैव वृत्तस्थो वैश्यः शूद्रोऽथवा पुनः। यः पिबेत् कापिलं क्षीरं न ततोऽन्योऽस्ति पापकृत्॥ Āpastamba quoted by Haradatta.

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(पिण्याक), fruits and roots, medicinal plants (ओषधि), etc. Among exceptions there is a special mention of Rāgakhaṇḍava or Rāgasāḍava which must have been a great delicacy with our forefathers.[1] It is a sort of drink highly flavoured with spices and sweet to taste. Food turned sour (शुक्त) is specially prohibited.[2] An obvious exception is दधि, curds. Such food, however, may be taken if prepared of more than one article. So Hemādri and Haradatta except kānjika.[3] Another exception is करम्भ, which is nothing but curds mixed with barley flour. Some authorities except चुक्र which as explained by Hemādri seems to be a sort of fermented liquor.[4]

One must not prepare certain foods for oneself alone (आत्मार्थे). The commentators explain that these things must first be offered to the gods or the ancestors, like meat. These are कृशर (rice boiled with pulses), संयाव (wheat flour boiled in ghee and milk), अपूप (cakes of rice, etc.), पायस (barley boiled in milk—GR.) and शष्कुली (powdered pulse such as mūga boiled in milk with sesamum (GR.) and wheat flour boiled in oil or ghee—*Halāyudha.*).

One should not take विलेय (dregs left in preparation of ghee), पिण्याक (oil-cakes) and मथित (churned milk, ghole from which fat has been extracted). This is one of the few rules for which some reason is given. Gautama says these should be avoided because these have no food value (आत्तवीर्य). There is a salutary prohibition that seeds of pumpkins and the like should not be eaten.[5] One must also not eat क्षीरलवण which has been explained as salted milk. A better reading is क्षारलवण.[6] All these prohibitions are

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[1] Variously explained by Mitra Miśra, Hemādri, Kamalākara and *Bhāvaprakāśa*. Hemādri and *Bhāvaprakāśa* also refer to पाणक and रसाला drinks. पिप्पलीशुण्ठीयुक्तासु मुद्गयूषासु खाण्डवः। रागखाण्डवतां याति शर्करासंयुतं तु तत्॥—NS.

मुद्गाढक्यादीनि मांसानि वा मूलफलादीनि निष्काष्य गृहीता रसाः शर्करामध्वादिद्रव्यसङ्गेन मधुरीकृताः रागाः, अम्लद्रव्यसंयोगेनाम्लीकृतासु षाडवाः (H.).

शर्करालवणेलानागकेसरमधुमरिचमिश्रमनुद्धृतस्नेहभागं वस्त्रे सङ्गृह्य गालितं गोदधि रसाला। गुडमरिचशर्करैलाकर्पूरादिसंस्कृतापक्वद्राक्षाकदलादिफलद्रवाः (DH).

[2] शुक्त is thus explained by *Mitākṣarā*. यत् स्वयमनम्लं केवलं परिवासेन, द्रव्यान्तरपरिवासाभ्यां वाम्लीभवति तत् शुक्तम्।

[3] cf. शुक्तं केवलम् (Gautama); शुक्तं वापरयोगम् (Āpastamba). Bṛhaspati excepts शुक्त in which roots, flowers, etc., have been used provided it is not intoxicating.

कन्दमूलफलैः पुष्पैः शस्तैः शुक्तासवं तु तत्।
अविकारि, भवेन्मद्यमभक्ष्यं तद् विकारकृत्॥—GR.

[4] गुडमधुकाम्बिकमुस्त्वादिद्रवद्रव्यं धान्याद्युखानि अहसन्नाद्यादिकालमवस्थाप्यातिशुक्लतां नीतं चुक्रमित्युच्यते॥

[5] न बीजान्युपभुञ्जीत रोगापत्तिमृते बुधः।
फलान्येषामनन्तानि बीजानां तु विनाशयेत्॥—Devala in GR.

[6] क्षारलवण is salt with high alkaline content.

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meant for the upper castes and not for Śūdras. One must, however, note the very convenient proposition that whatever is touched by the Brāhmaṇa immediately becomes हविः, fit to be offered to the gods !![1]

8. As regards individual items of food, it will be seen that the authorities are not unanimous either as regards prohibition as to food or offering, or as regards recommendation as to offering at the śrāddha. This divergence of opinion points to divergence in local or regional food habits, or change in food habits with time. As regards meat, while all the authorities seem to prohibit five-nailed beasts with some exceptions, some prohibit one-hoofed animals while others like Baudhāyana prohibit two-hoofed ones. The latter prohibits all domesticated quadrupeds with the exception of goat and sheep. Others prohibit village birds only. While Manu allows animals with one row of teeth with the exception of camels, Gautama prohibits animals with two rows of teeth. Gautama prohibits animals without hair on their body and also animals with long hairs. In other texts there are no corresponding rules. Most authorities except wild boar (वराह) and wild fowl (आरण्यकुक्कुट) but Vaśiṣṭha says that there is divergence of opinion regarding wild boar (अग्राम्यसूकर) and rhinoceros (खड्ग) which are allowed by most authorities. Baudhāyana distinguishes between sūkara (सूकर) and varāha (वराह) prohibiting the first but not the other.

In course of time it seems that the meanings of many words came to be lost. Thus, Devanna Bhatta, the author of *Smṛti Chandrikā*, frankly states that he could not understand some of the words such as पिण्डमूलक, पिण्डालुक, कालशाक and तच्चकन्द. The commentators explain the words differently and sometimes give meanings not usually found in the lexicons. We will confine ourselves to a few more examples. The tables will show others.

9. श्वाविध् and शल्यक, also शूर्यक, शल्लक, शल्लकी are synonymous according to the lexicons, meaning porcupine or hedgehog. The words are clearly differentiated in the texts. Haradatta on Gautama says that शल्यक is a kind of boar with bristles like नाराच and that श्वाविध् is कल्पक (?) of which the hide makes garments. In his commentary on Āpastamba he says the same thing but in the printed edition श्वाविध् is read for शल्यक and शल्यक for श्वाविध्, an exchange which is certainly a printing error. Hemādri[2] following *Smṛti Chandrikā* says श्वाविध् is a dog-eating tiger (leopard ?)! Others[3] describe श्वाविध् as a deer resembling a dog (श्वसदृशो मृगः). M. M. Gangānātha Jhā translates one as porcupine and the other as hedgehog. Dalvaṇamiśra[4] says शल्यक is a 'tree mongoose' resembling a big iguana.

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1 तावद् भवति शूद्रान्नं यावन्न स्पृशति द्विजः।
द्विजाग्रकरसंस्पृष्टं सर्वं तद् हविरुच्यते ॥—Parāśara.

2 श्वभक्षको व्याघ्रविशेषः।

3 See Govindaswāmin on Manu; Lakṣmīdhara in *Smṛti Chandrikā*.

4 शल्यकः वृक्षनकुलः वृहद्गोधानुकारी।

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Khaḍga (खड्ग)[1] is usually taken to mean a rhinoceros (गण्डक) but Haradatta seems to take khaḍga (खड्ग) in the sense of an antelope or deer which dies when its horns are broken (भग्नशृङ्गमृत्युः) or one the horns of which are used to keep oil (तैलभाजन). Khaḍga (खड्ग) may be a deer or antelope according to Keśava. Vaśiṣṭha says there is divergence of views regarding eatability of a khaḍga. Mitra Miśra says that the divergence is with regard to four-nailed rhinoceros and Mitākṣarā explains that the difference is only as regards occasions other than śrāddha.

वार्ध्रीणस means a rhinoceros according to some lexicons. But in some texts खड्ग and वार्ध्रीणस are found together. So, the commentators explain वार्ध्रीणस as a white goat, or a bird with black neck, red head and white wings!![2] The word in Manu seems to mean a large animal, for by the offer of one the ancestors remain satisfied for a long twelve years.[3] The word occurs in the Sūtras of Baudhāyana and Āpastamba in which the other names are of birds only.[4] Haradatta in his commentary on Āpastamba takes वार्ध्रीणस and लक्ष्मणा together and explains that the word means a particular type of लक्ष्मणा, a small crane.[5]

Coming to birds we find that कोयष्टि is interpreted by different commentators to mean जलकुक्कुट, टिट्टिभ or क्रौञ्च; कपोत is a pigeon or a dove; प्लव is प्लवकटविल (crane?), जलकुक्कुट, जलवायस, कारण्डव or an aquatic bird in general; भास is a vulture or a cock; शतपत्र is a woodpecker, a peacock or a सारस which itself may mean either a crane, a wild goose or a woodpecker![6]

10. Thus, identification is made difficult by the fact that many of the names denote more than one variety of animal, bird or plant. The difficulty is the greatest in case of plants, for one word may even denote half a dozen or more of different plants.

With this rather long introduction, I introduce the tables[7] with short introductions of their own. I have not been able, due to my limited knowledge, to identify many of the plants and some of the birds and I

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[1] Mādhava in his celebrated *Parāśara-mādhava* refers to खड्ग as खड्गमृग and not गण्डक; so also *Smṛti Chandrikā*. मृग may, of course, mean merely a पशु or animal, but hardly so in the present context.

[2] Dr. Raghuvīra identifies वार्ध्रीणस with the hornbill, because of the peculiar protuberance over its beak. Literally the word means 'leather-nosed'.

[3] वार्ध्रीणसस्य मांसेन तृप्तिर्द्वादशवार्षिकी.—Manu, III, 271.

[4] Baudh., I, 5, 154—पक्षिणस्तित्तिरि-कपोत-कपिञ्जल-वार्ध्रीणस-मयूर-वारणा वारणवर्ज्याः पञ्च विष्किराः. So it is a विष्किर. Also क्रुञ्चक्रौञ्च-वार्ध्राणस-लक्ष्मणवर्जम्. Āp., I, 5, 36.

[5] लक्ष्मणा is the female सारस, that is, a smaller variety of the crane.

[6] शतपत्रः शिखण्डिनि दार्वाघाटे सारसे च (*Medinī*). चक्राङ्गसारसौ हंसे (*Śabdārṇava* quoted by Mallinātha on Māgha, 1, 32).

[7] The tables are not as exhaustive as they appear to be. Only the main authorities have been referred to in support of inclusion of individual items in the lists.

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hope that persons better equipped than me will come up to fill the gap where I have failed.

With all these prohibitions if our state becomes a religious state and if śāstric rules are rigidly enforced, most of us would probably refuse, if one is offered the choice, to be a Brāhmaṇa.

References and Abbreviations

I. *Dharma Sūtras:*

1. Āpastamba (Chowkhāmba) with Haradatta's Commentary (Ā).
2. Baudhāyana (Ānandāśrama) (B).
3. Gautama (Ānandāśrama) with Haradatta's Commentary (G).
4. Vaśiṣṭha (V).
5. Viṣṇu (Vs).

II. *Smṛtis:*

(*a*)
1. Manu (M) with commentaries of Medhātithi (Medhā) and Kullūka.
2. Parāśara (Par). Parāśara-Mādhava (PM).
3. Yājñavalkya (Y) with commentaries of Mitākṣarā (Mitā) and Vīramitrodaya (Mitra°).

(*b*)
1. Bharadwāja (Bh).
2. Bṛhat Parāśara (Bh. Par).
3. Devala (D).
4. Hārita (H).
5. Paithinasi (Pṭh).
6. Prachetas.
7. Saṃkha (H), Yama (Ym).
8. Śātyāyana (Śāṭ).
9. Uśanas (U).
10. Viśwāmitra.
11. Vyāsa.

} Texts as in the Digests.

III. *Purānas:* (Texts as in the Digests).

1. Bhaviṣya (BhṣP).
2. Brahma (BP).
3. Brahmāṇḍa (BmdP).
4. Brahma Vaivarta (BVP).
5. Kūrma (KP, KP*). KP* in Hemādri = VP in NS.
6. Matsya (MtP).
7. Mārkaṇḍeya (MrP).
8. Padma (PP).
9. Skanda (SKP).
10. Vāyu (VP).
11. Viṣṇu (VṣṇP).
12. Mahābhārata (MB).

IV. *Digests:*

1. Bhaṭṭoji—Chaturvimśatimatasamgraha.
2. Chaṇḍeśwara—Gṛhastharatnākara (GR).
3. Devanna Bhatta—Smṛti Chandrikā (Sm Ch).
4. Hemādri—Chaturvargachintāmani (H).
5. Kamalākara—Nirṇayasindhu (NS).
6. Lakṣmīdhara—Kṛtya Kalpataru.
7. Mitra Miśra—Vīramitrodaya (Mitra°).

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V. *Lexicons :*

1. Amara Kośa with commentaries of Kṣīraswāmi and Raghunātha.
2. Halāyudha's Abhidhānaratnamālā.
3. Hema's Anekārthasamgraha.
4. Keśava's Kalpadru Kośa (K).
5. Puruṣottama's Trikāṇḍaśeṣa and Hārāvalī.
6. Maheśwara's Viśwakośa.
7. Medinī Kośa.
8. Yādavaprakāśa's Vaijayantī.
9. Śivadatta's Śiva Koṣa (SK) with Comm. (SKC).

VI. *Dictionaries :*

1. Vaidyakaśabdasindhu of Umeśachandra Gupta (VSS).
2. Sanskrit-English Dictionary of Monier Williams (MW).
3. Dictionary of Birds by Dr. Raghuvīra.
4. Śabdakalpaduma of Rādhākānta (ŚKD).

VII. *Others :*

1. Bhattacharya—Kalivarjyas.
2. Bhāvaprakāśa (Chowkhāmba).
3. Blythe—Catalogue of Birds, Catalogue of Mammals.
4. Dalvaṇamiśra's Commentary on Suśruta (Dm).
5. Inscriptions of Asoka.
6. Kāne—History of the Dharmaśāstras (HDS).
7. Prain—Bengal Plants.

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APPENDIX

ASOKA'S PILLAR EDICT V

(Text)

देवानम् पिये पियदसि लाज देवम् आह सडुवीसति वसाभिसितस मे इमानि पि जातानि अवध्यानि कटानि सेयथः सुके सालिक अलुने चकवाके हंसे नंदीमुखे गेलाटे जतूक अम्बकपिलिके दुडि अनठिकमच वेदवेयके गंगापुपुटके संकुजमचे कफट-सेयके पम्नससे सिमले संडके ओकपिंडे पलसते सेतकपोते गामकपोते सवे चतुप्पदे ये पटिपोगं नो एति न च खादियति; अजका नानि एडका च सूकली च गभिनी व पायमीना व अवध्यपोतके च कानि आसं मासिके; वधि कुकुटे वा नो झापेतविये जीवेव जीवे नो पुसितविये; तिसु चतुम्मासीसु तिसायां पुन्नमासीयं तिं नि दिवसानि चावुदसं पंनडसं पटिपंदाये धुवाये चा अनुपोसयं मचे अवधिये नो पि विकेतविये; एतानि येव दिवसानि नागवनसि केवटभोगसि यानि अञानि पि जीवनिकायानि न हन्तवियानि

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(Translation)

Thus sayeth King Priyadarsin, Beloved of the Gods: These creatures are declared inviolable by me, anointed twenty-six years, namely;

Parrots, mainas, red[1] chakravākas, wild geese, nandimukhas,[2] gelatas (?) bats,[3] queen-ants,[4] terrapins,[5] boneless fish,[6] vedaveyakas,[7] gangāpuputakas (?), the skate fish, kaphataseyakas,[8] squirrels,[9] the simala stag,[10] bulls set at liberty,[11] okapindas,[12] rhinoceroses,[13] white pigeons, village pigeons, all quadrupeds which do not come into use nor are eaten. Those she-goats and ewes and sows which are with young or in milk are inviolable and also their young ones within six months. No cocks are to be caponed. Husks with living beings are not to be caused to burn. On the three chaturmāshi days, on the tisya full moon day, on the three (uposatha) days, the fourteenth day, the fifteenth day and the first day of a lunar half month, and invariably on the non-uposatha day, fish are not to be done violence to nor even sold; on these very days, in the elephant forest and in the fishery even other species of animals are not to be killed.

Asoka's Rock Edict I

(Text)

... इध न किंचि जीवं आरभित् प्रजुहितव्यं ... पुरा महानसं हि देवानं पियस्स प्रियदसिनो राञो अनुदिवसं बहूनि प्राणसतसहस्राणि आरभिसु सूपाथाय से अज यदा अयं धम्मलिपी लिखिता तीं एव प्राणा आरभरे सूपाथाय द्वो मोरा एको मगो; सो पि मगो न ध्रुवो; एते पि ति प्राणा पछा न आरभिसरे ...

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[1] Barua suggests that चखुन should be taken separately to include all rapacious birds of prey.

[2] In Sanskrit, an aquatic bird, identified by Dr. Raghuvira with the nokhta or the comb duck, *Sarkidiornis melanolotus*. It is a kind of maina (सालिकविशेष) according to *Praśna Vyākaraṇa* and *Aupapattika Sutta*. Sort of teal according to Dalvaṇa—नन्दीमुखः पचाढी चाटिभेदः.

[3] Syn. चर्मचटिका (*Amara*), flying fox. Bühler renders as bat.

[4] Barua renders as small ants, Bühler as queen-ants.

[5] डुलि is the female tortoise (*Amara*)—hence a small tortoise also.

[6] Earthworm or jelly fish (Barua).

[7] Barua renders *Silurus boalis*, reading chedaveyaka., i.e. chitravallika.

[8] Tortoises and porcupines, if kamaṭhaśaryaka; sleep-feigning animals like crocodiles and alligators, if kapataśayaka (Barua).

[9] Bühler. Barua suggests that the word may denote the monkey also, taking parṇaśaśa = parṇa-mṛga.

[10] Śṛmara occurs in Kautilya. It is rendered as the barāsingh stag.

[11] उत्सृष्टष (Bühler). Barua suggests gayāl.

[12] Bühler refers to *Mahavagga*, 6, 17, 6 and Buddhaghoṣa's interpretation विलाव-मूषिका-गोधा-सङ्खा, i.e. cats, rats, iguanas and mongooses.

[13] V. Smith suggests 'monkey' and Hultz, 'iguana'.

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(*Translation*)

. . . Here no sacrifice shall be performed by immolating any living thing whatsoever . . . Formerly in the kitchen of King Priyadarsin, Beloved of the Gods, many hundreds of thousands of animals were daily killed for the purpose of curry. But today when this edict is written only three animals are being killed daily for purposes of curry—two peafowl and one deer, the deer, however, not invariably. Even these three creatures shall not be killed afterwards.

In this connexion, Leviticus XI is interesting, showing animals prohibited to the Jews.

Leviticus XI

3. Whatsoever parteth the hoof, *and* is clovenfooted, *and* cheweth the cud, among the beasts, that shall ye eat.

[4–7. The camel, the coney, the hare and the swine are declared 'unclean'.]

9. These shall ye eat of all that are in the waters: whatsoever hath fins and scales in the waters, in the seas, and in the rivers, them shall ye eat.

10. And all that have not fins and scales in the seas, and in the rivers, of all that move in the waters, and of any living thing which is in the waters, they shall be an abomination unto you.

12. Whatsoever hath no fins and no scales in the waters, that shall be an abomination unto you.

13. And these are they which ye shall have in abomination among the fowls; they shall not be eaten, they are an abomination: the eagle, and the ossifrage, and the osprey.

14. And the vulture, and the kite after his kind.

15. Every raven after his kind.

16. And the fowl, and the night hawk, and the cuckoo, and the hawk after his kind.

17. And the little owl, and the cormorant, and the great owl.

18. And the swan, and the pelican, and the gier eagle.

19. And the stork, the heron after her kind, and the lapwing, and the bat.

20. All fowls that creep, going upon all four shall be an abomination.

21. Yet these may ye eat of every creeping thing that goeth upon all four, which have legs above their feet, to leap withal upon the earth.

22. Even these of them ye may eat; the locust after his kind, and the bald locust after his kind, and the beetle after his kind, and the grasshopper after his kind.

23. But all other flying creeping things, which have four feet, shall be an abomination unto you . . .

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List I(A)—Beasts

The rules in the various texts prohibit animals of the following description:—

Five-nailed animals (पञ्चनख),[1] one-hoofed animals (एकशफ),[1] animals roaming singly (एकचर),[2] animals having two rows of teeth (उभयतोदत्),[3] animals with profuse hair on their body (केशिन्),[3] animals without any hair on their body (अलोमिन्)[4] and two-hoofed animals (द्विखुरिन्).[5]

There are seven exceptions to the rules that five-nailed animals (पञ्चनखs) should not be eaten. These are

Porcupines (शल्लक), śvāvidh (श्वाविध्), iguanas (गोधा), tortoises (कूर्म), rhinoceroses (खड्ग), hares (शश), and the pūtikhaṣa (पूतिखष). I have already discussed the difficulty of identifying śvāvidh (श्वाविध्) and khaḍga (खड्ग), *ante* pp. 172-173. Pūtikhaṣa (पूतिखष) is explained by Haradatta as an animal living in the Himalayan regions. The animal itself cannot be identified from the description. Dalvaṇamiśra says it is a sort of wild cat with genitals emitting pleasant odour.[6]

Apart from this, there are animals which are *specially* mentioned as prohibited. These are

Camel (उष्ट्र), village-pig (ग्राम्यसूकर), milch-cow (धेनु), plough-cattle (अनड्वह्), lion (सिंह), tiger (व्याघ्र), leopard (द्वीपिन्),[7] wolf (वृक), dog (श्वन्), fox or jackal (शृगाल), rat (आखु), mouse (मूषक), boar (वराह), monkey (मर्कटक), mongoose (नकुल), ass (गर्दभ), elephant (हस्तिन्), gaura (गौर),[8] gayāl (गवय),[9] golāngūla (गोलाङ्गूल), the mythological animal 'śarabha' (शरभ) and human beings (नृ).

I have already discussed (*ante* pp. 164, 166) the cases of dhenu (धेनु), anaduha (अनड्वह), and śarabha (शरभ). Golāngūla (गोलाङ्गूल) has been explained as कृष्णवानर, that is, a black monkey, by Puruṣottma and Keśava as also by the commentators.[10] It seems to mean the common langur, the Hanumān of Bengal. Vaśiṣṭha mentions also krakara (क्रकर) which is explained by the commentators as कृकलास, chameleon. But according to the lexicons (*Hārāvalī*, *Kalpadruma*, etc.) a कृकलास is क्रकरपाद्, or क्रकचपाद्,

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[1] Manu, V, 11; Yaj., I, 172; Gautama, II, 8, 28. [2] Manu, V, 17.
[3] Gautama, II, 8, 28. [4] Gautama, II, 8, 28.
[5] Baudhāyana, I, 5, 158. This would exclude cows, goats and sheep.
[6] Dalvaṇa reads पूतिघास which is explained as वृक्षविडाल: सुगन्धिवदण: कर्पूरक इति लोके।
[7] द्वीपिन् usually means a tiger, but may also mean a panther or leopard. See M. W. and ŚKD.
[8] *Gavaeus gaurus*. [9] *Gavaeus frontalis*.
[10] कृष्णमुखोऽपर:, गोलाङ्गूल: श्यामपादकर: श्वेतोऽपि सर्वत:। सर्वत: कृष्णपादोऽपि (Keśava).

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that is, 'saw-footed' and not simply क्रकर. Krakara (क्रकर) is also the name of a bird according to *Medinī-kośa*, possibly *Ardea virgo*.[1]

As regards the exceptions, reference has already been made (*ante* p. 166, f.n. 2) to Manu, who excepts animals with one row of teeth which include cows, goat, sheep and also deer and antelopes (गोऽव्यजमृगाः, Medhā.) In the texts certain varieties of deer and antelope are specially mentioned, such as हरिण, ऋश्य, न्यङ्कु, रुरु and कुलङ्ग.[2] By prohibition of village swine (ग्राम्यसूकर), wild boars (आरण्यसूकर) are by implication excepted.

Among beasts of which meat is recommended for offering to the ancestors are many included in the above list of exceptions such as हरिण, deer and antelope, उरभ्र, sheep, छाग, goat, पृषत, एण, रुरु which are varieties of deer or antelope, वराह which means आरण्यसूकर, that is, wild boar, शश, rabbit or hare, खड्ग, rhinoceros, कूर्म, tortoise, and गो, cow. गवय, the gayāl, is prohibited as food but is recommended for sacrifice to the ancestors. Buffaloes (महिष) are also recommended for such sacrifice. I have already stated (*ante* p. 164) that whatever was sacrificed had to be partaken of by the offerer and so these animals must have been eaten before the various rules regarding prohibitions came to be applied.

Other animals of which the meat was specially recommended for offering to the ancestors are mahāśalka (महाशल्क) which has been explained, as already stated (*ante* p. 164), as the porcupine (शर्यक) or a kind of fish with big scales, the mahseer according to Dr. S. L. Hora; loha (लोह), explained as a goat black or brown all over or as bird known as loha-pṛiṣṭha (लोहपृष्ठ)[3]; and lastly, vārdhriṇasa (वार्ध्रीणस) which, as already stated (*ante* p. 173), means a rhinoceros according to lexicons but an old goat or a kind of bird according to the commentators.

List I(B)—Fish and other Aquatic Animals

Most aquatic animals would be prohibited because they are fish-eaters. Frogs (प्लवङ्गम), crocodiles (नक्र), porpoises (शिशुमार), crabs (कुलीर), and

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[1] तृणाशनः क्रकचपात् क्रकलासो हलाहलः (Keśava). क्रकरः करीरवृक्षे दीने क्रकचे पक्षिभेदे च (*Medinī*).

Ardea virgo is the karkara in Hindi = Karaunch (Jerdon), the Demoiselle Crane.

[2] हरिण is गौरहरिण (Dm.) or ताम्रहरिण, red deer. रुरुर्मृहान् कृष्णसारः बभ्रुपृङ्गो वा (Hemādri), the Indian Antelope. ऋश्य is मृदुपृङ्गो नीलवर्णो घोटकप्रमाणः, possibly the Nīlgāi. पृषत is अतिस्थूलबिन्दुप्रमाणकशुक्लवर्णतनूरुहकृतमण्डलशतैश्चित्रितः (*Sm. Ch.*), the Spotted Deer. एण is कृष्णहरिण, the Black Deer or Antelope. वैजयन्ती and भावप्रकाश give lists of various kinds of deer and antelope. *BhP.* commentator remarks that एण is a musk deer इसी की नाभि से कस्तूरी निकलती है. कुरङ्ग is tawny coloured—कुरङ्ग ईषत्ताम्रः स्यादेणतुल्याकृतिर्मृहान्. न्यङ्कु is the barsingha (बभ्रुविषाणः, *BhP.*).

[3] That is, कङ्क, the purple heron, Beng. लालकांक, *Ardea purpura*.

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the mugger (शुदुर explained as मकर)[1] are specially prohibited by name. Snakes are prohibited as they have no hair on their bodies and also because they roam alone (अलोमिन्, एकचर). The python (अजगर) is prohibited by name.

Fish without scales are prohibited. An exception is the पाठीन or सहस्रदंष्ट्र, *Silurus boalis*.[2] The two are usually held to be different names of the same fish. Some commentators say that one is वोदाल, Beng. बोआल and the other चित्रवोदाल, that is the streaked variety of the same fish.

Apart from पाठीन and सहस्रदंष्ट्र, the rohita (रोहित),[3] the simhatunda (सिंहतुण्ड),[4] the rājīva (राजीव),[5] the śapharī (शफरी),[6] the chilichima (चिलिचिम),[7] the varmi or charmi (वर्मि),[8] the bṛhachchhiras (बृहच्छिरस्),[9] the maśakari (मशकरि)[10] and the mahāśalka (महाशल्क)[11] are mentioned as edible.

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[1] मकर is obviously the mugger. Dr. Hora says शुदुल from शुदु, soft, must be the soft and jelly-like Bombay Duck. शुदुर is मकर according to Haradatta and Mitra Miśra, but Dr. Hora does not agree.

[2] Kṣīraswāmin (on Amara) says पाठीन is चित्रवल्लिः ...एतौ साहश्यात् पर्यायौ; Dalvaṇa says पाठीन is वोयाल fish and that सहस्रदंष्ट्र is महापाठीन, a bigger variety of the same fish. Raghunātha commented on Amar in the sixteenth century. He was a native of Bengal and may be supposed to know Bengal fishes. He says one is वोदाल and the other चित्रवोदाल. Dr. Hora, however, thinks all of them must be wrong as the vāchā fish has many teeth and so सहस्रदंष्ट्र must be the vāchā, *Entropiichthys vacha* (*J.A.S.*(*L*), 1953, XIX, p. 63).

On the other hand, Hemādri, Mitra Miśra and author of the *Mitākṣarā* identify पाठीन with the चन्द्रक fish which may be the चान्दा fish of Bengal. Dalvaṇa says चन्द्रक is पार्श्वेषु कण्टकवलयितो वर्तुलो मत्स्यः. These authorities are clearly at variance with Kṣīraswāmin.

[3] M., Yj., Baudh. *Cyprinus rohita* ; *Labeo rohita*.

[4] M., Yj. To Dr. Hora सिंह means a tiger! So, it is *Bagarius bagarius*.

[5] M., Yj., Baudh. According to Raghunātha and Mitra Miśra it is the well-known 'raikhad' fish. According to commentators राजीव means either रेखायुक्त, striped, or पद्मवर्ण, lotus coloured. Dr. Hora, however, thinks राजीव means one that moves in a formation, and so it is *Mugil corsua*.

[6] G., Vs., M., IV, 250, Yj., etc. *Puntius sophore*.

[7] Baudh. It is नलमीन according to Amara which may be the balia fish, or the incha or icha (prawn), according to Raghunātha. It is the garai fish (गडुवालुका), according to Sarvānanda. ŚKD identifies it with the Chang (*Ophicephalus gacchua*). Dr. Hora, however, identifies it with the hilsa!!

[8] Ym. A small serpent-like fish, अल्पसर्पसदृशो मत्स्यः (Mitra°). *Mastacembelus armatus* (Dr. B. C. Law). *Rita rita* (Hora).

[9] Baudh. Kātla (*Catla catla*) according to Hora.

[10] Baudh. Dr. Hora thinks it should read महाशफरी!! and so it is स्वर्णपृष्ठी, *Putius sarana*.

[11] Viṣṇu explained as the porcupine or a large scaled fish (H.). Dr. Hora thinks it is the mahseer (*Tor putitora*).

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Except the rohita and the śapharī, it is difficult to identify the rest with any reasonable certainty. Dr. Hora's identification (?) is hardly better than mere guess-work.

The cheta (चेट),[1] the gavaya (गवय),[2] and the 'serpent-headed' fish (सर्पशिर्षण्)[3] are prohibited, as also fish with head like human beings (मनुष्यशिरस्)[4] and other weird-looking fishes (विकृतरूप).

List I(C)—Birds

General rules prohibit eating of certain classes of birds. These are (1) क्रव्याद (carrion-eaters), (2) निमज्जतो मत्स्याद (those which eat fish by diving), (3) नक्तञ्चर (birds which move about in the night), (4) जालपाद, रक्तपाद, रक्तपादतुण्ड (i.e. aquatic birds with red feet and beaks as also web-footed birds), (5) प्रतुद (peckers), (6) विष्किर or नखविष्किर (i.e. 'scatterers'), (7) ग्रामचारिन् (i.e. birds which live in villages), and (8) अज्ञात (unknown birds). Manu mentions मत्स्याद, fish-eaters separately in addition to निमज्जतो मत्स्याद. Kullūka explains that by मत्स्याद, Manu excludes crocodiles and similar animals.[5]

The classes are obviously not mutually exclusive. Thus most web-footed birds are also fish-eaters. Owls and bats are both नक्तञ्चर and क्रव्याद. Village fowls are ग्रामचारिन् as well as विष्किर, and so on.

There is again a long list of birds mentioned by name which may not be eaten. Most of them, however, would be prohibited by general rules themselves.

Thus गृध्र, वायस, भास and काकोल are carrion-eaters (क्रव्याद); कुरर or (उत्क्रोश), हंस, प्लव, चक्रवाक, कारण्डव, सारस, बक, वलाक, क्रौञ्च, मद्गु and कङ्क are fish-eaters (मत्स्याद); चटक or (कलविङ्क), पारावत, ग्राम्यकुक्कुट, वायस, शुक, सारिका and कोकिल are village birds (ग्रामचारिन्); मयूर, कुक्कुट, चकोर and भास are 'scatterers' (विष्किर); उलूक and मान्धाल (or मण्डल) are नक्तञ्चर.[6]

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[1] G., Vs. Since चेट means a servant and since the mrigala fish is a 'scavenger', it follows, according to Dr. Hora, that the two are identical. So चेट is *Cirrhina mrigala !*

[2] Vs. = the Dugong (Dr. Hora).

[3] G. = Fam. Ophicephalidae (Dr. Hora).

[4] G. = Fam. Tetradon (Dr. Hora).

[5] क्रव्याद (M.V.Ā.); मत्स्याद (M.); नक्तञ्चर (G., V.); जालपाद (M., V., G.); रक्तपाद (Yj.); रक्तपादतुण्ड (G.); प्रतुद (M., G.); विष्किर (V., Baudh.); नखविष्किर (M.); ग्रामचारिन् (V.); ग्रामवासिन् (M.); अज्ञात (M., Y.).

Note.—According to the printed text of Gautama, it seems प्रतुदs, जालपादs and रक्तपादतुण्डs may be eaten (भक्ष्याः), contrary to all other authorities. The text is evidently corrupt.

[6] Āpastamba excludes only कुक्कुट among विष्किरs and प्लव among प्रतुदs. So according to him other विष्किरs and प्रतुदs, such as चकोर (the chukor) and the दार्वाघाट (the woodpecker) may be eaten! प्लव is explained as the शकटविल crane (?). Usually it means an aquatic bird.

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The commentators explain that because of special exclusions others of the same class may be eaten at times of distress.

Exceptions are also there. Thus the following may be eaten: क्रुञ्च, क्रौञ्च, वार्ध्रीणस and लक्ष्मणा, according to Āpastamba; तित्तिर, कपिञ्जल, वारण and दण्डमयूर, according to Baudhāyana; पारावत, लावक, वर्त्तक and मयूर, according to other authorities. क्रुञ्च, क्रौञ्च, and लक्ष्मणा would obviously be excluded by the general rule prohibiting fish-eaters (मत्स्याद).

List of Prohibited Birds

(*Numbers refer to those in Blythe's Catalogue*)

1. उत्क्रोश (D.) .. Osprey, Beng. कोराल, माछमोडल, *Pandeon haliaetus*, 120. Syn. कुरर.[1]
2. उलूक (D.) .. Owl, Beng. प्याँचा; Gen. Strigidae. Syn. प्रेचक.[2]
3. कक्कुभ (V.) .. Crow pheasant, Beng. कुको; *Centropus phillipensis* (*sinensis*), 385; *C. viridis* (*bengalensis*), 387.[3]
4. कङ्क (G.) .. Purple heron, Beng. लालकाँक. *Ardea purpurea*, 1637. Syn. लोहपृष्ठ, ढुकर.[4]
5. कपोत (D., Ś., V.) .. (1) Blue (rock) pigeon, Beng. जालालो कबुतर; *Columbia livia intermedia*. Syn. पारावत.
   (2) Turtle-dove, Beng. घुघु; Gen. Streptopelia, or *Turtur orientalis*, 1430–1436. Syn. पाण्डु, पाण्डुकपोत.[5]
6. कलविङ्क (M., Yj., V., G.) .. Sparrow, Beng. चड़ाइ; *Passer domesticus indicus*, 642. Syn. चटक, नीलकण्ठ, गृहबलिभुज.[6]

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[1] According to Blythe, कोराल is Fishing Eagle, *Haliaetus macei*, 124, etc. Devala prohibits *both* कुरर and उत्क्रोश which the commentators explain to mean that उत्क्रोश meat is to be specially abhorred. Is it to be more abhorred than even vulture-meat? Also = मत्स्यरङ्क, king-fisher.

[2] The only familiar variety is the Spotted Owlet, *Athene brama*, 160.

[3] Also = वन्यकुक्कुट, Wild Cock (*Hārāvalī*).

[4] दीर्घचञ्चुमेदप्रमाणः (Dm.). The purple variety is prohibited, कङ्को लोहितपक्षः (GR.). Also = बक, Crane (K.).

[5] कपोत is wild, पारावत is domesticated. कपोतो वनवासी, पाण्डुक इति लोके, पारावतो गृहदेवकुलायः (Dm.).

[6] According to some it means the wild sparrow: अरण्यचटकनिवृत्त्यर्थमिति केचित् (H.) = कालचटक, black sparrow? भृङ्गराजादु भिन्नः, अपरे भृङ्गराजमाङः, अन्ये तु रक्तशिरसं कृष्णग्रीवं ग्रामचटकाकारमाङः (Dm.). पीतमुण्डः (yellow-headed) according to Yādava.

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7. काक (G.) .. House-crow, Beng. काक, पातिकाक; *Corvus splendens*, 448. Syn. वायस.

8. काकोल (Yj.) .. Raven, Beng. दाँड़काक; *Corvus corax*, 448. Syn. द्रोणकाक, गिरिकाक, वृद्धकाक, ध्वाङ्क्ष.

9. कारण्डव (Ś.) .. Coot, Beng. ? ; *Fulica atra*, 1677. Syn. पीततुण्ड (*Trikāṇḍa*).[1]

10. कुक्कुट (D., Ā., V.) .. Fowl, Beng. मुर्गी; *Gallus ferrugeneus*, (*Phasianus gallus* L.), 1462. Syn. ह्रकवाकु, ताम्रचूड, etc.[2]

11. कुरर (Yj., D., V.) .. Osprey = उत्क्रोश q.v.

12. कोकिल (D., V.) .. (1) Indian cuckoo, Beng. बौ कथा कओ; *Cuculus micropterus* (*striatus*), 340.

(2) Koel, Beng. कोकिल; *Eudynamys scolopaceus* (*E. orientalis*), 358. Syn. पिक, परभृत्, etc.

13. कोयष्टि (M., Yj.) .. (1) Pond-heron, paddy-bird, Beng. कोंचवक; *Ardus jaculator* (M. W.); *Ardeola grayii*; *Ardeola leucoptera*, 1645. Syn. क्रौञ्च (*Mitākṣarā*).

(2) Lapwing, Beng. टिट्टि. *Lobivanellus indicus*; *L. goensis*; *Parra goensis*, 1554. Syn. टिट्टिभ.

(3) Water-cock, Beng. कोरा; *Gallicrex cinerea*; *G. cristatus*, 1660. Syn. जलकुक्कुभ (*Trikāṇḍa*).[3]

14. क्रुञ्च, क्रौञ्च (Āp., D., V.) Pond-heron, paddy-bird = कोयष्टि. Syn. प्लवदिहङ्गम.[4]

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[1] कारण्डवः काकवक्त्रो दीर्घाङ्घ्रिः कृष्णवर्णभाक् (Dm., K.). Also = खड़ाहांस्, *Kar hans*, *Anser cinerius*; शुक्लहंसभेदः, अन्ये करहरमाङ्घः (Dm.); also वालियाहांस् (Raghunātha), whistling teal.

[2] Only the village fowl (ग्राम्यकुक्कुट) is prohibited by M., Yj., G., etc. Medhātithi, Chandeswara, etc., however, would prohibit the wild fowl also.

[3] आरण्यपक्षिविशेषः (H.); कोयष्टिः शिखरी स्मृतः (Halāyudha) indicating a crested bird. *Sm. Ch.* confesses कीदृश इति चिन्त्यः। दीर्घजङ्घः कोपङ्ग इति लोके (?) Dm. A kind of stork (Oppert.). So these authorities do not accept the meanings given above in the dictionaries (M. W., etc.).

[4] क्रुञ्च and क्रौञ्च are identical according to most authorities, but the two are differentiated by Haradatta, according to whom the former moves in groups while the latter moves in pairs. क्रुञ्चा वृन्दचराः, क्रौञ्चा मिथुनचराः. According to Krishnan (*The Statesman*, 13th March, 1955), क्रौञ्च is the Indian Sarus crane. Jerdon identifies it with the smaller Demoiselle crane, *Anthropoides virgo*. According to Āpastamba क्रौञ्च and सारस are different.

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15. खञ्जरीट (M., Yj.) .. Wagtail, Beng. खञ्जन; *Motacilla maderespatensis*, 766; *M. luzoniensis*, 770 = *M. alba* (Latham).[1]

16. गृध्र (V., G.) .. Vulture, Beng. शकुन्; Gen. Otogyps, Gyps, 132–135.

17. चकोर (D.) .. Chukor, Greek partridge, Beng. चकोर; *Caccabis chukor*, 1503; *Pardi rufa* (M. W.); *Perdix gularis*, 1505; *Alectoris graeca chukar*. Syn. चन्द्रिकाशन, रक्ताक्ष, विषसूचक, जीवञ्जीव (K.).

18. चटक (V.) .. = कपिञ्जल, q.v.

19. चक्रवाक (Ā., G., V., D.) .. Brahmini duck, ruddy goose, Beng. चका; *Anas casarca*; *Casarca ferruginea*; *Casarca rutila*, 1768. Syn. चक्र, कोक, रथाङ्ग.

20. चक्राङ्ग (M.) .. Goose, Beng. राजहाँस; *Anser anser*; *A. cinereus*, 1755.[2]

21. चाष (Yj., D.) .. Indian roller, blue jay, Beng. सोनाचडा; *Caracias indica*, 224. Syn. नीलकण्ठ, किकीदिवि, स्वर्णचूड, स्वर्णचातक.[3]

22. चित्रक (D.) .. (1) Indian spotted dove, Beng. तेले घुघु; *Streptopelia chinensis suratensis*; *Turtur suratensis*, 1435. Syn. चित्रकपोत (Mitra°).
(2) Black partridge, Beng. काला तितिर; *Francolinus vulgaris*, 1500. Syn. चित्रपक्ष, कृष्णतित्तिरि (Dm.).[4]

23. टिट्टिभ (M., V., G.) .. Lapwing = कीयष्टि, q.v.

24. दात्यूह (M., Yj.) .. (1) Brain-fever bird, hawk cuckoo, Beng. चोख-ग्यालो; *Hieroccyx varius*, 339. Syn. चातक (Mitra°).

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[1] सितासितवर्णो ललितगतिः (Dm.). *Sm. Ch.* seems to mean a skylark, यो मेघपर्यन्तमाकाशारोहणं लीलया करोति.

[2] The wild variety migrating from beyond the Himalayas during winter is meant, not the domestic variety. Cf. *Amara*, हंसास्तु श्वेतगरुतश्चक्राङ्गा मानसौकसः, राजहंसs are हंसs with beaks and feet red. राजहंसास्तु ते चञ्चुचरणैर्लोहिताः सिताः (*Amara*).

[3] इन्द्रनीलमणिसदृशः पक्षः शस्यदर्शनः करटाशन इति लोके प्रसिद्धः (Dm.). *Sm. Ch.* means a different bird, यः शकुनसूचकत्वेन प्रसिद्धो रक्तपीतवर्णः खर्वकायः पक्षिविशेषः. Also = मत्स्यरङ्कः, king-fisher.

[4] चित्रक usually means a tiger or leopard. It is कृष्णतित्तिरः according to Dm. but चित्रपक्षः कपिञ्जलः, grey partridge according to *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*.

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(2) Pied-crested cuckoo, Beng. पापिया; *Clamator jacobinus*; *Coccystes melanoleucus*, 362. Syn. चातक, वापीह (*Trikāṇḍa*).

(3) Common iora, Beng. फटिक्-जल्; *Aegitheria typhia*; *Iora typhia*, 1293. Syn. चातक.

(4) Little cormorant, Beng. पानकौड़ि; *Phalacrocorux niger*; *Graculus pygmaeus*, 1748. Syn. कालकण्ठ, जलकाक, जलवायस.

(5) White-breasted water-hen, Beng. डाऊक; *Gallinula javanica*; *Porzana phoenicura*, 1661. Syn. कालिकण्ठ, प्रिंतिकण्ठ (*Trikāṇḍa*), जलरङ्कु (*Halāyudha*).[1]

25-26. दार्वाघाट (V.) / निचुदारु (G.) .. Woodpecker, Beng. काठ्ठोकरा; Gen. Picidae. Syn. रज्जुदाल, घृतपत्र, काष्ठकुट्टक.[2]

27. पाण्डु (V. in GR.) / पाण्डुक (Ś. in Mitra°) / पाण्डुकपोत (V.) .. Turtle-dove. See कपोत.

28. पारावत (V., D.) .. See कपोत.

29. प्लव (M., G., V., Ā., D.) (1) White-breasted water-hen, Beng. डाऊक; see दात्यूह (5).

(2) Black-headed gull, Beng. गांचिल्; *Larus ridibundus*, 1695. Syn. जलकुक्कुट (Hemādri, Mitra°).

(3) Śakaṭavila crane (?) (Haradatta).

(4) = कारण्डव (*Medinī*), coot; *Fulica atra*.

(5) Pelican (Oppert.); cf. Dm. K.[3]

30. बक (M., G., V.) .. Crane, Beng. बक; Fam. Ardeidae.

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[1] दात्यूहस्तु पुमान् कालकण्ठचातकपक्षिणोः। (*Medinī*). कालकण्ठ is either पानकौड़ि or डाऊक in Bengali while चातक may be either of the three birds, चोख-ग्यालो, पापिया or फटिक्-जल.

[2] दार्वाघाट occurs in Yajur Veda, 24, 35. It may also mean a सारसः. Does सारस mean a woodpecker also? दार्वाघाटः सारसः पुष्कराक्षः (*Halāyudha*).

[3] प्लव is a general term for aquatic birds. Thus

हंस-सारस-कारण्ड-बक-क्रौञ्च-शरारिकाः।
नन्दीमुखो सकादम्बा बलाकाद्याः प्लवाः स्मृताः॥

प्लव may mean a जलवायस, Beng. पानकौडि according to Hemādri. Again प्लवो महाप्रमाणः स्यात् प्रसेवकगलश्च सः (Dm., K.)—a bird of great size with a pouch at the throat, obviously a pelican.

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31. बलाक (M., G., V.) .. Small crane, Beng. বগুলী ; *Egretta alba*; *Ardea herodius alba*, 1638. Syn. बलाका, विसकण्ठिका.[1]

32. भास (V., Ā., D.) .. (1) Pharaoh's chicken? Beng. শকুন? *Neophron percnopterus*, 137 or *N. ginginianus*. Syn. शकुन्त.

(2) Vulture in general. Syn. गृध्रराज.[2]

33. भृगराज (D.) .. Large rocket-tailed drongo, Beng. भीम্‌রাজ; *Dissemurus paradisius*; *Edolis paradisius*, 1215.[3]

34. मद्गु (V.) .. (1) Little cormorant, Beng. পানকৌড়ি; see दात्यूह (4).

(2) Indian darter, snake-bird, Beng. গয়ার; *Anhinga melanogaster*; *Plotus melanogaster*, 1749.[4]

35. मग्गुल (V.) मान्धरल (G.) .. Flying fox or bat, Beng. চামচিকা, বাদুর. Syn. वाग्गुदः.[5]

36. रज्जुदाल (M., Yj., Ā.) = दार्वाघाट, q.v. Also रज्जुवाल. Syn. काष्ठकुट्टक, etc.

37. वर्हिन् (D.) .. Peacock, Beng. ময়ূর; *Pavo crestatus*, 1449. Syn. मयूर, नीलकण्ठ, केकी, शिखी, बर्ही, कलापी.[6]

38. वायस (V.) .. Crow, Beng. কাক, q.v.

39. शतपत्र (D.) .. Woodpecker; see दार्वाघाट.[7]

40. शुक (M., G., V.) .. Parrot, Beng. টিয়া; Fam. Psittacidae; Gen. Psittacula or Paleornis.

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[1] बगुलीति लोके (Dm.). Also = बक. बलाकश्च बको मतः (*Viśwakośa*).

[2] गोकुलचारी गृध्रविशेषः श्वेतशिखावान् (?) (Dm.). भक्षचरो गृध्रविशेषः (GR.). श्येनाकृतिः पीततुण्डः (*Halāyudha*). Also vulture in general भासो भासि समाख्यातो गोष्ठकुक्कुटगृध्रयोः.

[3] भृङ्गराज and भृङ्ग = धूम्राट are distinguished by K., Dm., *Medinī*, etc. भृङ्गराजो धूम्राटसदृशः पक्षिराजः (Dm.). According to *Medinī*, भृङ्ग may mean *both* भृङ्गराज and धूम्राट. भृङ्गः कलिङ्गो धूम्राटः (K.).

[4] Also = मत्स्यरङ्क, king-fisher (VSS.). Also जलकुक्कुटी, black-headed gull (K.). मद्गुस्तु जलकाकः स्यादन्या जलकुक्कुटी (K.).

[5] मान्धाल occurs in Vedic literature = वाग्गूद (Haradatta, etc.). वाग्गूद is a kind of 'bird', says *Trikāṇḍa*. Dr. Raghuvīra reads मास्थाल and identifies it with family Miglyptes.

[6] = टणमयूर (काठमोरा), the Bengal florican (GR.).

[7] = Indian great slaty woodpecker; Mulleripicus pulverulentus harteri (Raghuvīra). It may mean also a peacock or a sarus crane. शतपत्रः शिखण्डिनि, दार्वाघाटे सारसे च (*Medinī*).

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41. श्येन (G., V.) .. Falcon, hawk, etc., Beng. बाज, चिल; Fam. Falconidae. Syn. सुपर्ण.

42. सारङ्ग (V.) .. = चातक, see दात्यूह (1, 2, 3). Syn. बापीह, etc.[1]

43. सारस (M., Ā.) .. Indian sarus crane, Beng. सारस; *Antigone antigone*, 1615. Syn. गोनर्द, लक्ष्मण, पुष्कराह्व, etc.[2]

44. सारिका (M., V.) .. Common myna, Beng. शालिक; *Acridotheres tristis*, 574.

45. सुपर्ण (Ā.) .. = श्येन (Haradatta), q.v.

46. हंस (M., G., V., Ā.) Wild goose; *Anser anser*; *A. cinerius*, 1755; *A. indica*, 1757, etc. Syn. चक्राङ्ग, q.v. मानसौकस्.[3]

47. हारीत (V.) .. Green pigeon, Beng. हरियाल; *Crocopus phoenicopterus*; *Treros phoenicoptera*, 1384.[4]

EXCEPTIONS

1. कपिञ्जल (B., V., Ś.) .. Grey partridge, Beng. सादा तितिर; *Francolinus pondicerianus*; *Perdi pondiceriana*. Syn. गौरतित्तिर.[5]

2. कपोत (B.) .. Pigeon, dove. See *ante* p. 182.[6]

3. तित्तिरि (B.) .. Black partridge, Beng. काला तितिर; *Francolinus vulgaris*, 1500.

4. टगमयूर (B.) .. Bengal florican, Beng. ? ; *Houbaropsis bengalensis*; *Sypheotides bengalensis*, 1540. Syn. कुरण्टक.

5. मयूर (Ym., Ś.) .. Peacock, Beng. मयूर; *Pavo cristatus*, 1449.

6. लावक (Ym., Ś.) .. (1) Bustard quail, Beng. लाव, वटेर; *Turnix suscitator*; *T. dussumieri*, 1530.

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[1] सारङ्गस्यटकाकारः कृष्णकण्ठः (K.); अन्ये तु कृष्णकर्बुरश्यातकाकारो विष्किरः (Dm.), meaning a different bird.

[2] सारसः लक्ष्मणः रक्तशिराः (Dm.) दीर्घगलजङ्घो नीलाङ्गः (*Sm. Ch.*). Also = दार्वाघाट q.v. See also क्रौञ्च, Siberian crane (M. W.).

[3] नित्यार्थमनस्वाषादीनां विकल्पेनापदुविषये (Medhā.); निन्दातिशयार्थम् (Mitra°); अजाल-पादा अपि हंसा सन्तीति पुनर्वचनम् (Mitra°).

[4] हरितपीतवर्णो हरियाल इति लोके (Dm.); हरितपक्षः कपोताकारः (GR.); wood pigeon (Aufrecht). Also = कपिञ्जल, grey partridge (K.).

[5] Also = चातक (VSS.); हारीत (K.).

[6] Usually = a wild pigeon.

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(2) Common bush quail, Beng. লাব ; *Perdicula asiatica*, 1517.[1]

7. वर्त्तक (Ym., Ś.) .. Grey quail, Beng. বটের ; *Coturnix communis*, 1521.

8. वाध्रीणस (B., Ā., Ym., Ś.) ... See *ante* p. 173.

9. लक्ष्मणा (Ā.) .. Female sarus crane or a smaller variety. See *ante* p. 173.

UNIDENTIFIED

तैलातक (V.),[2] विषु, विधुन (V.),[3] पत्तन (Pṭh.), जलानर्त (Pṭh.), प्राङ्वलि (B.), (Ś. in Mitra°),[4] वारण (B.).[5]

II. LIST OF PROHIBITED PLANTS, FRUITS AND VEGETABLES

* indicates items not in the list of plants, etc., which may not be offered to ancestors, कवक may be included in छत्राक, पराशिका in लशुन.

1. अलाबु (BhṣP.) .. Bottle-gourd, Beng. লাউ ; *Cucurbita lagenaria* ; *Lagenaria vulgaris* ; *L. leucantha*.[6]

*2. अम्लान्तक (Pṭh.) .. Species of Oxalis, Beng. অম্লকুচাই.[7]

*3. उदुम्बर (Ht.) .. Fig, Beng. ডুমুর ; *Ficus glomerata*.[8]

4. कपित्थ (Ht.) .. Elephant or wood-apple, Beng. কত্‌বেল ; *Feronia elephantum* ; *F. lemonia*. Syn. दधित्थ.

*5. कलञ्ज (Ā.) .. Red garlic, Beng. লাল রসুন ; *Allium sativum*.[9]

*6. कवक (M.) कियाकु (G., Ā.) .. Mushroom, Beng. কোঁড়ক ছাতা.[10]

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[1] A smaller वर्तक : तस्मिन् लघुतरे पुंसि लवो लवी लाव: पुनः (K.). स्वजातीयैः सह कलहकारी पक्षिविशेषः (H.).

[2] तैलाट is a wasp ; तैलपायिन् is a cockroach.

[3] Kind of bird (Mitra°).

[4] कपोतभेदः (H.). Also read चारण.

[5] = Florican according to Dr. Raghuvīra.

[6] Only the round ones (मस्तक, दृत्तालाबु) are prohibited. अलाबुं वर्तुलाकाराम्.

[7] Sort of grass, कुशसदृशस्तृणविशेषः (Lakṣmīdhara, cf. Manu, II, 43). Also a kind of tree. (1) अस्रोट, ebony ; *Diospyros ebenaster* (Oppert.) ; (2) उदालक, कोविदार (VSS.), युग्मपत्र (ŚK.) ; *Bauhinia variegata* ; (3) आवुटा इति पश्चिमदेशे ख्यातः (ŚKD.).

[8] Also काकोदुम्बरिका, Beng. কাকডুমুর ; *Ficus hispida*.

[9] रक्तलशुन (Ā. I, 17, 26 Comm. Mitra°). But Rāghava Bhatta (on *Śāradā*, I, p. 411) says it is छत्राकबीजफलविशेषः, खर्बुजा इति लोके ; *Cucumis melo*, melon.

[10] कर्णकं, छत्राकसन्निभं (?) (BrmP.), distinguished from छत्राक, which is छत्रसन्निभं; कवकं छत्राकसदृशं कुसुदमुकुलाकृति (Mitra°). See also Medhātithi (V, 4).

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7.	कुष्माण्ड, कुम्भाण्ड (D.)	(1) Ash or wax-gourd, Beng. चालकुम्ड़ा, छाँचिकुम्ड़ा; *Benincasa cerifera*; *B. hispida*. (2) Pumpkin, Beng. कुम्ड़ा; *Cucurbita maxima*.[1]
8.	कुसुम्भ (Pṭh., BmdP.)	Safflower, Beng. कुसुम; *Carthamus tinctorius*.[2]
9.	क्षुद्रधान्य (Ā.)	Black pulses except तिल, माष and मुद्ग.[3]
10.	कोविदार (VṣṇP. in GR.)	Beng. रक्तकाञ्चन; *Bauhinia variegata*.
11.	गण्डूल (D.)	= कण्डूरा (Hemādri), Cowage, Beng. आलकुशी; *Mucuna pruriens*. Syn. प्रावृषायणी.[4]
12.	गृञ्जन (M., Y., D., Ym.)	(1) Carrot, Beng. गाजर; *Daucus carota*. (2) Variety of garlic, Beng. रशुन विशेष.[5]

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[1] कुम्भाण्ड is distinguished by Hemādri and Lakṣmīdhara from कुष्माण्ड and they seem to mean different fruits. कुम्भवद्वर्तुलमदीर्घालाबुसदृशं फलम् (H.); दाडिमसदृशफलविशेषः (Lakṣmī°, Mitra°) which is a much smaller fruit.

[2] Also saffron, Beng. जाफ्रान्, कुङ्कुम, *Crocus sativus*; पूतीकरञ्ज (VSS.), Beng. डहरकरञ्ज, *Pongamia glabra* = कण्टकिकुसुम्भः, अस्य नवपत्राणि शाकत्वेनोपयुज्यन्ते (*Sm. Ch.*).

[3] माषादि न व्रीहयः (Ā., II, 18, 2 Comm.); black variety of barley (M. W.); also श्यामाक, Beng. कालिन्दी धान (VSS.) = *Panicum frumentaceum*; *P. cruxgalli*.

[4] कण्डूरायाः प्रावृषेण्यापरनामधेयायाः फलम्, तच्चात्यन्तकण्डूतिजनकवज्रकोमयुक्तं भवति (H.).

[5] (*a*) Carrot according to Hemādri, Mitra Miśra, Mādhava, Rāghava Bhatta, etc. It *cannot* mean carrot according to Kamalākara (न तु गाजरं तस्य पृथगुक्तेः) but गृञ्जनं गाजरं प्रोक्तं तथा नारङ्गवर्णकम् (*Bhāva-Prakāśa*).

(*b*) Greenish-red garlic (Oppert.), हरिद्रवर्णः (Mādhava, Hemādri); लोहितसूक्ष्मकन्दः (Mitra° on Y., I, 176) तस्य पलाण्डुत्वेन लोकेऽप्रसिद्धेः पलाण्डुत्वेन पुनरुपादानं गोवलीवर्दन्यायात् (Mitra°). स्वल्पकन्दे हरिद्रते गृञ्जनो गर्जरः गुजः (*Vaijayantī*).

(*c*) Garlic in general, रसोनो गृञ्जनः कटुः (*Vaijayantī*).

(*d*) Some plant of which the leaf is eaten in a powdered form by singers for improving their voice (?), प्रायश्चित्तप्रकरणे तु गृञ्जनं पत्रविशेषः यदीयं चूर्णं गायका कण्ठशुद्ध्यर्थं भक्षयन्ति (Bhattoji in *Chaturvimśatimatasamgraha*).

(*e*) Variety of शोभाञ्जन, Beng. सजिना, *Moringa pterygosperma*; रक्तेऽस्मिन् मधुशिग्रुः सुभञ्जनः गृञ्जनः (*Vaijayantī*). Red species of *Hyperanthera* (*guilandina*) *moringa* (Oppert.).

(*f*) An animal killed with poisoned weapon (Nīlakaṇṭha, *Mahā*, Anu, 91).

(*g*) A root used in brewing (Mādhava) . . . विशेषश्च मद्यार्थो मूलविशेषो वा गाजरापरपर्याय इति द्वेधा माधवेनैव व्याख्यातं विनिगमकमिह परिभावनीयम् (Bhattoji, *ibid.*). गृञ्जन can hardly be turnip as rendered by M. M. Kāne, H.D.S., 784.

Ten varieties of पलाण्डु are: रसोनो दीर्घपत्रश्च पिच्छगन्धो महौषधम्। छिन्नरुहश्च पलाशण्डु नवत्वक्कः परारिका॥ गृञ्जनं यवनेष्टश्च पलाण्डोर्दशजातयः॥

Yādava reads the second line as फरुण्डश्च पलाण्डुश्च लताकश्च परारिका.

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13. छत्राक (M.) .. See कवक.[1]

14. दधित्थ (Ht.) .. See कपित्थ.

*15. नाड (D.)
*16. नाडिका (BhṣP.) .. Beng. कल्मी शाक; *Ipomoea reptans*. Syn. कलम्बिका.[2]

*17. नालिका (Pt., Ht.) .. Beng. नालिता; *Corchorus capisularis*. Syn. नालिता, नाडीच.[3]

18. नीप (Ht.) .. Beng. कदम्ब; *Anthocephalus indicus*; *A. kadamba*; *Nauclea cadamba*. Syn. कदम्ब.[4]

*19. पराशिका (Ā.) .. Dark garlic, Beng. काल रशुन; *Allium sativum* (?).[5]

20. पलाण्डु (M., Yj.) .. Onion, Beng. पेँयाज; *Allium cepa*.

21. पिप्पल (Vṣṇ. in GR.) Peepul, Beng. अश्वत्थ; *Ficus religiosa*. Syn. अश्वत्थ.[6]

22. पोत = पोतकी (Pṭh.) Indian spinach, Beng. पुँइ; *Basella rubra*; *B. alba*. Syn. उपोदिका, पूतिक.[7]

23. पौतिक, पूतिका (U.) .. Beng. नाटाकरञ्ज; *Guilandina bonduc*; *Caesalpinia bonducella*.[8]

*24. प्लक्ष (Ht.) .. Pakur, Beng. पाकुड; *Ficus infectoria*.[9]

25. मसूर (BrP.) .. Lentil, Beng. मसूर; *Ervum lens*; *Lens esculenta*.

26. मस्तक (D.) .. = वर्तुलालाबु (NS., GR., Mitra°), round-shaped gourd.

*27. मातुलुङ्ग (Ht.) .. Citron, Beng. वेगपूरा; *Citrus medica* var. *typica*. Syn. बीजपूरक.

28. राजमाष (BmdP.) .. Cow-pea, asparagus bean, Beng. वर्वटी; *Vigna sinensis*; *V. catjang*.

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[1] Hemādri says शतपुष्पा, वर्षाकाले भूमौ वृक्षेषु वोद्भूतं छत्रम्.

[2] H. reads नाल (= कलम्बिका). Also (1) *Phragmites karka*, *Arundo karka*; (2) Beng. खाग्रा (नल); (3) नालीशपत्र; (4) मातुलुंग; (5) देवधान्य; (6) पद्म (VSS.), i.e. stalk of water-lily.

[3] दीर्घनाला शिरोभागावस्थितस्वल्पपत्रवा जलाशयोद्भवा शाकत्वेन प्रसिद्धा नालदलवल्लिः (H.). Also चर्मकषा; मिश्रपत्रनालिता; *Arum colocasia* (VSS.) = *Colocasia esculenta*, Beng. कचु.

[4] Also अशोकवृक्ष, बन्धूकवृक्ष, भूकदम्ब (VSS.). नीप is distinguished from कदम्ब by *Vaijayantī*. नीप = महाकदम्ब, *Nauclea cordifolia* (Oppert.).

[5] कृष्णं भण्डुभाख्यया म्लेच्छानां प्रसिद्धं (Ā., I, 17, 26 commentary); पलाण्डुविशेषः (GR.).

[6] H. reads पिप्पली, long pepper, Beng. पिपुल; *Piper longum*; आर्द्राः शाकतया प्रतिषिध्यन्ते, शुष्कानां संस्कारकद्रव्यत्वेनाभिमतत्वात् (H.).

[7] पौतिकं कण्टाकरञ्जपत्रं (H. Mitra°); पूतीक is पूतीकरञ्ज (Keyadeva in ŚK.).

[8] पूतिका is also जवादिकसूरिका, Beng. खाटाशी (VSS.).

[9] मङ्गल्यः चिंपिटकाकृतिः शिम्बिधान्यविशेषः (Mitra°).

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29. लशुन (M., Yj.) .. Garlic, Beng. रशुन ; *Allium sativum.*

*30. वट (शाक) (Vṣn. in GR.) Banyan, Beng. वट ; *Ficus bengalensis* ; *F. indica.*

31. वार्ताकु, वृन्ताक (U., Pṭh.) .. Brinjal: (1) Beng. वेगुन; *Solanum melongena* ; (2) Beng. कण्टिकारि ; *Solanum xanthocarpum.*[1]

*32. वासक (BmdP.) .. Vasaka, Beng. वासक ; *Adhatoda vasica.* Syn. वृषक.

33. शतपुष्पा (BmdP.) .. Parsnip, dill, Beng. शुल्फो ; *Anethum sowa* ; *Peucedamum sowa* ; *P. graveolens.* Syn. शताह्वा.[2]

34. शिग्रु (Y.) .. Drumstick, Beng. सजिना ; *Moringa pterygosperma* ; *M. oleifera.* Syn. शोभाञ्जन.

*35. शेलु, श्लेष्मातक (M.) .. Sebesten, Beng. वोहनारि, बऊयार ; *Cordia dichotoma* ; *C. obliqua* ; *C. latifolia* ; *C. myxa.* Syn. बऊवारक, उद्दालक.[3]

*36. सुमुख (Ym.) .. Sweet basil, Beng. वावुइ तुल्सी ; *Ocimum basilicam.*[4]

III. List of Plants and Vegetables which may not be offered to Ancestors (श्राद्धवर्ज्यानि)

* These items are in List II.
† These items are in List IV also, showing divergence of opinion among authorities.

A

1. अणु (BP., MrP., VP.) Indian millet, Beng. चीना ; *Panicum miliaceum* (M. W.).[5]
2. अतसी (PP., MtP.) .. Linseed, Beng. तिसि ; *Linum usitatissimum.*
3. अतियव (BVP.) .. Beardless or awnless barley.[6]
4. अनल (Vyāsa, *Sm. Ch.*) Beng. लाल चिता ; *Plumbago rosea.* Syn. चित्रक.[7]

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[1] Variants: वार्ता, वार्ताक, वार्ताकी, वार्ताकिनी, वृहती, वृन्ताकी, वातिङ्गण; वार्त्ताकुः कण्टिकारिका (Halāyudha). Only the white brinjals (श्वेतवृन्ताक) are prohibited.

[2] शतपुष्पं सिसिः (H.) = Beng. मौरी. Syn. मधुरिका ; *Fœniculum vulgare.*

[3] Also (1) वनमेथिका (VSS.), *Melilotus indica*, (2) Beng. चाल्ता, *Dillenia indica.*

[4] = चिताजक (*Rāja-nirghaṇṭa*); सर्षपविशेषः (GR.); is it सर्षपविशेषः? Also राजिका, वनवर्वरी, श्वेतपत्रक्षुद्रतुलसी, कृष्णवर्वरी (VSS.).

[5] क्षुद्रधान्य. Also Italian millet, *Setaria italica* ; Beng. काङ्गोन, कांनी.

[6] निःशूक यव. A kind of small barley (Oppert.).

[7] = Leadwort (Oppert.).

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5. अम्लवेतस (BP.) .. Country sorrel, Beng. टक् पालं; *Rumex vesicarius*. Syn. अम्लक, चुक्री.[1]

6. अर्क (PP., MtP.) .. Madar, Beng. आकन्द; *Calotropis gigantea*.

7. अर्जक (VP., BmdP., VṣṇP.) .. Sweet basil, Beng. तुलसी, सादा वावुइ; *Ocimum basilicum*. Syn. श्वेततुलसी; सितार्जक (*Sm. Ch.*).

*8. अलाबु (VṣṇP., Ś., U. BP., MrP., KP., BrPar.) .. Bottle-gourd, Beng. लाउ; *Lagenaria leucantha*; *L. vulgaris*. Syn. कच्चुक (14), वृत्तालाबु, मस्तक, कम्बु (19).

9. आटरूष (MtP.) .. Vāsaka, Beng. वासक; *Adhatoda vasica*. Syn. वृषा, वासक.

10. आढकी (KP.) .. Pigeon pea, Beng. अडहर; *Cajanus cajan*; *C. indicus*. Syn. तूवरी, 58.

11. आसुरी (VṣṇP.) .. Rye, Indian mustard, Beng. राइ सर्षे; *Brassica juncea*. Syn. राजसर्षप, राजिका.[2]

12. उग्रगंधा (BP.) .. Sweet flag, Beng. वच; *Acorus calamus*. Syn. वचा.[3]

†13. उद्दाल (PM., MtP.) .. Mountain ebony, Beng. रक्तकाञ्चन; *Bauhinia variegata*. Syn. काञ्चनार (NS.), कोविदार, 41, चार.[4]

†14. कच्चुक (U.) .. Round-shaped gourd; see अलाबु, 8. Syn. कम्बु, 19, मस्तक.

*15. कण्डूरा (D.) .. Cowage, Beng. आलकुशी; *Mucuna pruriens*. Syn. कपिकच्छु, गण्डूल, प्रावृषायणी.

†16. कन्द (MrP., NS.) .. Arum, Beng. ओल; *Amorpophallus campanulatus*. Syn. सूरण.

†17. कपाल (BP.) .. Cocoanut, Beng. नारिकेल; *Cocos nucifera*. Syn. नारिकेल, 62.[5]

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[1] Also अम्लशोणी; Indian sorrel; आमरुल; *Oxalis corniculata*. Tamarind, according to Oppert.

[2] राजसर्षप (K.).

[3] उग्रगंधाजमोदायां वचायां चुद्विवर्धने (ŚK.). चुद्विवर्धन = छिक्किका, Beng. हेंचेता; *Artemisia sternutatoria*. अजमोदा is carraway, Beng. रांधुनी, *Trachyspermum* (*carum*) *roxburghianum*. Also *Ptychotis ajowan* (*Vaijayantī*).

[4] उदालो वनकोद्रवे कोविदारे च न द्वयोः. It might mean उदालक = श्लेष्मातक, Sebesten, *Cordia myxa*, a prohibited fruit. श्लेष्मातकः श्लेष्मलः पीत उदालो बहुवारकः (*Amara*).

[5] कपाल is explained in *Nirṇaya-sindhu* as नारिकेल. This is doubtful as the same is recommended by the same authority according to Hemādri's reading.

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18. कपित्थ (MtP.) .. Elephant or wood-apple, Beng. कत्‌वेल; *Feronia elephantum*; *F. lemonia*. Syn. दधित्थ, लोमशफल.

19. कम्पु, कम्बुक (BP., U.) Vide कंचुक, 14.[1]

20. करंज (U.) .. Beng. डहरकरंज; *Pongamia glabra*. Syn. नक्तमाल, चिरविल्व.[2]

21. करमर्द (Ś.) .. Beng. करम्‌चा; *Carrissa carandas*.[3]

22. करीर (BmdP., VP.) Bamboo shoot, Beng. वाँशेर कोरा; Syn. वंशाग्र, वंशांकुर.[4]

23. करण (BP.) .. Lemon, Beng. करण लेबु; *Citrus medica* var. *lemonium*.[5]

24. कलम्बक (VP., Śāṭ.) .. Water-bind weed, Beng. कल्‌मीशाक; *Ipomœa aquatica*; *I. reptans*. Syn. कलम्ब, कलम्बी, कलम्बु, कलम्बिका.[6]

†25. कलाय (BP.) .. Pea or pulse in general. Syn. त्रिपुट.[7]

26. कलिंग (BmdP.) .. Beng. कूर्चिफल; *Holarrhena antidysenterica*. Syn. कूटजफल, इन्द्रयव.[8]

27. काच (BP.) .. Taro, Beng. कचु (NS.); *Colocasia esculenta*; *C. antiquorum*. Syn. केचुक.

28. काचमाची (काकमाची) (BP.) .. .. Black nightshade, Beng. गुडकामाइ; *Solanum nigrum*.[9]

†29. कालशाक (Vyāsa, *Sm. Ch.*) .. Beng. कालकासुन्दा; *Cassia sophora*.[10]

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[1] दत्ताकारालावु (P.M.); a sort of Curcuma (M. W.). कम्बुर्वलयशंखयोर्गजे कर्चूरे ग्रीवायां नलकेऽपि च (Hema). कर्चूर is probably *Curcuma zedoaria*; नलक is Beng. नलखाग्रा, *Amphidonux karka* (M. W.).

[2] Also = करमर्द; *Galedupa arborea* or *Robinis mitis* (Oppert.).

[3] Also प्राचीनामलक, Beng. पानि आमला, *Flacourtia cataphracta*, कृष्णपाकफल (*Sm. Ch.*).

[4] Also *Capparis aphylla*, ग्रन्थिल, गूढपत्र (ŚK.). करीरो गूढपत्रे च न स्त्री वंशस्य कन्दले (ŚK.). पत्रशून्यो वदराकृतिफलो जांगलोद्भवो दत्तविशेषः (PM.).

[5] Also the potherb, *Marsilia dentata* = सुनिषण्ण.

[6] Only the red variety is prohibited.

[7] कलायस्त्रिपुटो ज्ञेयः, त्रिपुट = trilobed.

[8] Also = पूतीकरंज, नाटाकरंज, *Caesalpina bonducella*; *C. cresta*. Monier Williams gives two more meanings—*Ficus infectoria* (प्लक्ष) and *Acacia sirisa* = *Albiziza lebbek* (= शिरीष). इन्द्रयव may also be *Wrightia tinctorea*, *W. tomentosa* = यव (*Vaijayantī*), कलिंगं तु यवे ना तु देशपक्षिविशेषयोः.

[9] Also, दत्तनी, Beng. ब्याकुड; *Solanum indicum*.

[10] Also (1) आडशाक, *Corchorus capisularis* (ŚKD.), Beng. तितापाट, नालिता, (2) चुचु, Beng. चेंचको, *Marsilia dentata* (VŚS.), *Eleocharis plantaginea* (Prain), (3) तुलसी, Beng. तुलसी, *Ocimum sanctum* (M. W.).

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30. कुकुण्डक (MB.) .. Beng. कुक्शिमा, कुकुरशोंडा; *Blumea lacera*. Syn. कुकुन्दर (VSS.). Fungus or mushroom (*Vaijayantī*).[1]

*31. कुम्भांड (Vṣ., D.) .. Ash-gourd, Beng. चालकुम्ड़ा; *Benincasa hispida*. Syn. कूष्मांड, 34, कुम्भांड 31.

32. कुम्भी (U.) .. Box myrtle, Beng. कायफल; *Myrica sapida*; *M. nagi*. Syn. कट्फल.[2]

33. कुलत्थ (VṣṇP., BhsP., PP.) .. .. Horse gram, Beng. कुर्तिकलाइ; *Dolichos biflorus*.

*34. कूष्मांड (Bh., BP., KP., Ś., Vṣ., U.) .. = कुम्भांड, 31.

*35. कुसुम्भ (Vṣ., U., PP., MtP., BP., BmdP., BVP.) .. .. Safflower, Beng. कुसुम; *Carthamus tinctorius*.[3]

36. कुस्तुम्बर (BP.) .. Coriander seed, Beng. धने; *Coriandrum sativum*. Syn. धन्याक.[4]

*37. कृष्णधान्य (Śāṭ.) .. Black grain except तिल, माष and मुद्ग.

38. कृष्णाजाजी (MB.) .. Small fennel, black cumin, Beng. कालजिरा; *Nigella sativa*; *Nigella indica*. Syn. कृष्णजीरक (PM., *Sm. Ch.*).

39. कोकिलाक्ष (BP.) .. Beng. कुलेखाडा; *Hygrophila spinosa*. Syn. क्षुरा.[5]

40. कोद्रव, कोरदूषक (BP., PP., MtP., VṣṇP., BmdP., MrP., etc.) Beng. कोदो; *Paspalum scrobiculatum*.

*41. कोविदार (Ś., KP., MrP., U., Bh., BP.) = उद्दाल, 12.

42. गवेधुका (MrP., Bh.) .. Beng. गदूदेधान, देधान; *Polytoca barbata*; *Coix barbata*.

43. गाजर (BP.) .. Carrot, Beng. गाजर; *Daucus carota*. Syn. गृञ्जन.

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[1] May also mean other varieties of Blumea. But कुकुण्डे कवकोऽस्त्रियाम् (*Vaijayantī*).

[2] Also वारिपर्णी, water cabbage, Beng. टोकापाना, *Pistia stratiotis*; पाटला, Beng. पारुल, *Stereospermum suaveolens*; कुम्भ्युखायां पाटलायां वारिपर्ण्यां च कट्फले (Hema.).

[3] कुसुम्भं तु शीतकुम्भे स्याल्लट्वायां च कमंडलौ (Hema.). शीतकुंभ, fragrant Oleander (M. W.), Beng. कुमीर लता (VSS.). Also Saffron, कुंकुम, Beng. जाफरान, *Crocus sativus*.

[4] Only the variety growing in Kalinga is prohibited = कुसुंबुर (*Vaijayantī*).

[5] ईक्षुरः कौलिसा इति प्रसिद्धः (PM.).

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44. गांधारिका (MtP.) .. Camel-thorn, Beng. यवासा; *Alhagi camelorum*; *A. maurorum*. Syn. यवासा, दुरालभा.[1]

*45. गृञ्जन (VP., U., BP., MtP.) .. Variety of garlic, Beng. रशुनविशेष; *Allium sativum* (?).[2]

46. चणक (Ht.) .. Gram, Beng. चाणा, छोला, बुट; *Cicer arietinum*.

†47. चिर्भिटं (BP.) .. Melon, Beng. काकुड; फुटि; *Cucumis melo* var. *utilissimus*. Syn. कर्कटी, एर्वारु.[3]

†48. चुक्र, चुक्रिका (BP.) .. Indian sorrel, Beng. आमरुल; *Oxalis corniculata*. Syn. अम्ललोणी, चांगेरी, अम्बष्ठा.[4]

†49. चोर (BP.) .. Beng. पिरिं; *Trigonella corniculata*. Syn. स्पृक्का = शुभशाक, 114.[5]

*50. छत्राक (U.) .. Mushroom, Beng. काँडक छाता. Syn. कियाकु, कवक.

51. जम्बीर (MP., BP., BrPar.) .. Pumelo, Beng. वातावी लेबु; *Citrus decumana*; *C. maxima*.[6]

†52. जम्बु (MB., BrPar.) .. Rose-apple, Beng. गोलापजाम; *Eugenia* (*syzigium*) *jambos*.[7]

53. जीरक (Bh.) .. (1) Carraway, Beng. साजिरा; *C. curvi*; *Carum caruii*.
(2) Cumin seed, Beng. जिरा; *Cuminum cyminum*.

54. जीवक (BP.) .. Piyal, Beng. पियाशाल; *Buchanania latifolia*. Syn. पीतशाल, पियाल.[8]

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[1] = चन्द्रिका (NS.).

[2] See note 5, page 189, *ante*.

[3] तिक्तकर्कटी (PM.), i.e. the bitter variety गन्धचिर्भिटिका; the ill-flavoured variety (?) (BP.).

[4] चुक्र and चुक्रिका are distinguished in the text. Also wood-sorrel, *Oxalis repens*; fruit or juice of the tamarind tree (Oppert.).

[5] Also कृष्णशटी, a kind of perfume (M. W.) = गणदासक, निशाचर; also शृंखा or चोरपुष्पी (ŚK.), love-thorn, *Chrysopogon aciculatus* (M. W.). Also boiled rice according to *Vaijayantī* (Oppert.)—पुंनपुंसकयोस्चोरं करमाद्दार्यमित्यपि दग्धान्नं भिस्सिटा भिक्षी.

[6] Lime (Oppert.). Also a small kind of tulasi (do.).

[7] Also blackberry, Beng. कालोजाम, *Syzigium cuminii*; *Eugenia jambolana* = राजजम्बू (H.), स्वल्प (NS.). Also प्रस्थपुष्पशाक (*Amara*), a variety of ocimum. जम्बीरगन्धि हरितं यदम्लकटुकं रसे.

[8] जीवकः प्रियसर्जयोः (Hema); प्रिय = ऋसन, Beng. साँइ, *Terminalia tomentosa*. Also a shrub, गुल्म. जीवन्तीसदृशैः पत्रैः जीवको गुल्मकः स्थिरः। जीवकः प्राणके पीतशाल-चपणयोरपि, कूर्चशीर्षे (*Medinī*).

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†55. तण्डुलीयक (Vṣ., Bh., BP., KP.) .. Amaranth, Beng. चांपानटे; *Amaranthus tristis*; *A. polygamus*. Syn. अल्पमारिष.

56. ताल (BP.) .. Palm, Beng. ताल; *Borassus flabelliformis*.

57. तिक्तपर्णी (BP.) .. Beng. कट्की; *Pricrorzhiza kurroa* (VSS.). Syn. कटुकरोहिणी.[1]

58. तूवरी (BmdP.) .. = आढकी, 9.

59. दुरालभा (B., V., P.) = गान्धारिका, 43. Syn. यवासा.

60. धत्तूर (MtP., PP.) .. Thorn-apple, Beng. धूतुरा; *Datura fastuosa* var. *alba*. Syn. धुस्तूर, धूस्तुर.

61. धृतचार (BP.) .. Old seeds of the Chāra tree.[2]

†62. नारिकेल (Viśwāmitra) = कपाल, 16.

63. नालिक, नालिका (Ś., U., BP., Ht., Śāt.) Jute-leaf, Beng. नडचा, नालिता; *Corchorus capisularis*. Cf. कालशाक, 29.

64. निम्ब (BP.) .. Neem, Beng. निम; *Melia indica*. Syn. पारिभद्र, 70.

†65. निष्पाव (Ht., PP., MtP., VṣṇP.) .. Bean, Beng. शिम; *Dolichos lablab*. Syn. वल्ल.[3]

†66. पटोल (VP., BrPar.).. Beng. पटोल; *Trichosanthes dioica*. Syn. तिलघटक.

67. पद्म (BP.) .. Lotus, Beng. पद्म; *Nelumbium speciosum*; *N. nucifera*.

†68. पनस (BP.) .. Jackfruit, Beng. काँठाल; *Artocarpus integrifolia*.

*69. पलाण्डु (VP., BP., MrP.) .. Onion, Beng. पेँयाज; *Allium cepa*.

70. पारिभद्र (PP., MtP.) = निम्ब, 64.[4]

71. पालंक्य (Ht., VṣṇP., KP., Vṣ.) .. Spinage, Beng. पालं शाक; *Spinacia oleracea*. Syn. पालंक, पालंकी.[5]

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[1] = चक्रांगी (*Amara*); अशोका (Viśwa.): *Helleborus niger* (M. W.).

[2] चिरसंगृहीतचारबीजः (H.). चार is काञ्चनार, *Bauhinia variegata*. But NS. explains it as a dwarf palm, चारं क्षुद्रतालं.

[3] Also a kind of linseed (Oppert.).

[4] पारिभद्रस्तु मन्दारे निम्बदारौ देवदारुणि (*Medinī*); देवदारु = *Pinus deodara*, *Cedrus deodora*, *Cedrus libani*; मन्दार = Indian coral tree, Beng. पालिता मादार, *Erythrina indica*. रक्तमंदार (H.).

[5] पालंक्य here means a perfume according to Hemādri: मुकुन्दाख्यो गन्धद्रव्यविशेषः, मुकुंद = कुन्दुरु (*Amara*), कुन्दुर खोटि, resin of plant *Boswellia serrata*. Also Beet-root, Beng. विट्पालं, *Beta vulgaris*.

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72. पिण्डमूलक (BP., Vṣ., U., S., MtP., KP., BrPar.) .. = गाजर, 43.

73. पिण्डालु (BP.) .. Yam, Beng. चुव्रि आलु; *Dioscorea globosa.*

74. पिण्याक (BP.) .. Oil-cake, Beng. खइल. Syn. तिलकल्क.[1]

*†75. पिप्पल, पिप्पली (Ś., Bh., KP., BrPar., VP., Vṣ.) .. .. Long pepper, Beng. पिपुल; *Piper longum.*

76. पुलक (पुलाक) (Vyāsa, MB., *Sm. Ch.* and others) .. Shrivelled or blighted grain, Beng. आगड़ा. Syn. तुच्छधान्य.[2]

*77. पोत (पोतक) (Ht.)
पोतिका } (BP.) .. Fever-nut, Beng. नाटाकरञ्ज; *Caesalpinia*
पौतिक } *crista*; *C. bonducella.*

78. बज्रपुच्च (BP.) .. Beng. घृतमूली; *Asparagus racemosus.* Syn. घृतावरी.

79. बज्रबीज (Ś.) .. Custard apple, Beng. आता; *Anona reticulata.* Syn. आटप्य.

†80. बीजपूर (BrPar.) .. Citron, Beng. वेगपूरा; *Citrus medica* var. *typica.* Syn. मातुलुंग.

81. बृहती (VP.) .. Brinjal, Beng. व्याकुड, वेगुन; *Solanum indicum.*

82. भूनिम्ब (BP.) .. Beng. चिरेता; *Swertia chirayta* (VSS.).

83. भूस्तृण (Vṣ., KP., Ś., BmdP., Ht., VP.) Geranium grass, Beng. रुसाघास(?); *Andropogon schoenanthus.* Syn. भूटृण = *Cymbopogon martini.*[4]

84. मधुक (PP., MP.) .. (1) Liquorice, Beng. यष्टिमधु; *Glycerhyzza glabra.*
(2) Beng. मऊया; *Bassia latifolia.* Syn. मधूक.

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[1] पिण्याकोऽस्त्री तिकल्के हिंगुबाल्हीकसिल्हके (*Medinī*). हिंगु = Asafoetida; बाल्हकौ = Saffron; सिल्हक = शिलारस, an incense, Olibanum (M. W.).

[2] For other meanings see VSS. A cereal according to Hemādri: कोद्रवाद्यपेक्षया क्षुद्रधान्यानि.

[3] सुताक्रया यस्याः पत्रशाकसेवा निद्रातिशयकारिणी (*Sm. Ch.*). पोतिका may mean शतपुष्पा, 109, or अजमोदा (Beng. रांधुनी) Carraway. See छत्रगन्धा, 11. पौतिकं कण्टकरञ्जपत्रं (Mitra°); करञ्ज, 19, पोइ इति प्रसिद्धं says NS, i.e. Indian spinach, Beng. पुइ., *Basella rubra.* Syn. पोतकी, उपोदिका, पूतिक.

[4] According to *Bhāva P.* commentary = Lemon grass, *Andropogon citratus*, भूतीकसंज्ञकशाकविशेषः काश्मीरेषु प्रसिद्धं (H.). मालवे प्रसिद्धः शाकः (Kulluka on Manu, VI. 14). Lemon grass is also *A. nardus*, *Cymbopogon nardus.*

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†85. मरिच, मरीच (Ś., KP., VP.) .. (1) Chilli, Beng. लंकामरिच; *Capsicum frutescens*, etc.
(2) Black pepper, Beng. गोलमरिच; *Piper nigrum*.

*86. मसूर (BVP., VṣP., BP., KP., MrP., PP., VP., Ht., BrPar.) .. Lentil, Beng.; मसुर; *Ervum lens*; *Lens esculenta*.[1]

87. मानकन्द (BP.) .. Beng. मानकचु; *Alocasia indica*.

88. मारिष (Śāt.) .. Amaranth, Beng. सादानटे; *Amaranthus blitum* var. *oleracea*; *A. polygamus*; *A. polygonoides*.[2]

†89. माष (Ht.) .. Black gram, Beng. माषकलाइ; *Phaseolus mungo* var. *roxburghii*.

†90. मुद्ग (Bh.) .. Green gram, Beng. मुग; *Phaseolus mungo*; *P. aureus*.[3]

91. यावनाल (*Sm. Ch.*) .. Great millet, Beng. जोयार; *Andropogon sorghum*; *Sorghum vulgare*.

92. रक्तचार (BrPar.) .. Red chāra, Beng. उद्दार, 12.

93. रक्तपुष्प (Bh.) .. Red flowers except lotus.

94. रक्तविल्व (BP.) .. Red bael, Beng. लालवेल; *Aegle marmelos*.

95. राजमाष (VP., PP., MP., BVP., KP., Ś.) Cow-pea, asparagus bean, Beng. वर्वटी; *Vigña sinensis*; *V. catjang*.

96. राजसर्षप } (BmdP., राजिका } BP.) = आसुरी, 10.

*97. लशुन (VP., BP.) .. Garlic, Beng. रशुन; *Allium sativa*.[4]

98. लोमशफल (BP.) .. = कपित्थ, 17.[5]

99. लोहितवृक्षनिर्यास (Ś.) Red exudation of trees.

100. वंशाग्र (VP., Ś.) .. = करीर, 21.

101. वचकन्द (Bh.) .. = कन्द, 15.

102. वरक (PP.) .. Three-lobed kidney bean, Beng. मुगानि; *Phaseolus trilobus*. Syn. वनमुद्ग.[6]

*103. वार्ताक } (Ś., BP., MrP., KP., Ht., VṣP., Vṣ.) .. Brinjal, Beng. वेगुन; *Solanum melongena*.[7]

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[1] कृष्णवर्णा मसूराभिधाना, पाण्डुवर्णा मंगल्लकाभिधाना (Dm.).

[2] जीवशाकसण्डुलीयकसदृशस्वदपेक्षया स्थूलतरः (H.).

[3] Here, however, कृष्णमुद्ग seems to be meant = वरक, 102.

[4] श्वेतकन्द (H.).

[5] Prohibited as ordinary food also.

[6] कृष्णमुद्गः मुद्गिकेति लोके (Dm.) Also *Panicum miliaceum*, *Setaria italica* Beng., *Penicum frumentaceum* (Oppert.).

[7] The white variety alone is prohibited.

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104. विट (MB.) .. Catechu, Beng. खयेर; *Acacia catechu.* Syn. खदिर also.[1]

105. विड्भव (U.) .. Plants growing in nightsoil or unclean places.

†106. विल्व (PP., MP.) .. Bael, Beng. वेल; *Aegle marmelos.* See रक्तविल्व, 94.[2]

107. वृन्ताक (U.) .. = वार्ताक, 103.[3]

108. शण (U., Bh., BP., PP., VṣP.) .. Sunn hemp, Beng. शण; *Crotalaria juncea.*[4]

*109. शतपुष्पा (BVP., MrP., BP.) .. .. Parsnip, dill, Beng. शुल्फो; *Anethum sowa*; *Peucedanum graveolens*; *P. sowa.* Syn. शताह्वा.[5]

110. शालफल (BP.) .. Fruit of the sal tree, Beng. शालफल; *Shorea robusta.*

*111. शिग्रु (BP., Ht., Ś., VṣnP., Bh.) .. Drumstick, Beng. सजिना; *Moringa oleifera*; *M. pterygospermum.* Syn. शोभांजन.

112. शिम्बिक (Bh., BmdP.) Any pulse or grain growing in pods, a legume; *Dolichos lablab.*

113. शीतपाकी (MB.) .. Beng. बला, वेरेला; *Sida cordifolia.* Syn. बला.[6]

114. शुभशाक (*Sm. Ch.*, Vyāsa) .. Beng. पिरिं; *Trigonella corniculata.* Syn. स्रुक्का = चोर, 49.[7]

†115. शृंगाटक (MB.) .. Water-chestnut, Beng. पाणिफल, सिंहारा; *Trapa bispinosa.*

116. शोभाञ्जन / सौभाञ्जन (MB.) .. = शिग्रु, 111.

117. श्रीनिकेतन (BVP.) .. = विल्व, 106.

118. सर्जक (*Sm. Ch.*) .. = शाल, 110.[8]

†119. सर्षप (Vṣ., BP.) .. = राजसर्षप, 96.

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[1] विटोऽद्रौ लवणे पिड्गे मूषिके खदिरेऽपि च।

[2] Possibly only the red variety is prohibited.

[3] = क्षुद्रवार्ताकी (H.); कण्टकारिका (*Medinī*). Syn. निर्दिग्धिका. कण्टकारिका is *Solenum xanthocarpum.*

[4] धान्यविशेष (H., *Sm. Ch.*). Also Indian hemp, Beng. भां; *Cannabis sativa.*

[5] Also fennel, Beng. मौरी, *Foeniculum vulgare.*

[6] शीतपाकी बलारक्तिकयोः (ŚK.); रक्तिका is गुञ्जा, *Abrus precatorius.*

[7] शुभातु श्वेतदूर्वायां शुक्लावांशीशमीष्वपि (ŚK.); वांशी वंशरोचना; शमी is *Prosopis spicigera* = Phenila tree (Oppert.) शुभस्तु फेनिले पुंसि = Soapberry tree (Oppert.).

[8] सर्जक may also mean असन, *Terminalia tomentosa*, or पीतशाल, *Bauhinia latifolia.*

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120. सुरस (VP., Vs., Ś, KP., BmdP.) ∴ Beng. पद्मगुलुञ्च; *Tinospora tomentosa* (VSS.). Syn. दध्यालो, श्रावणी, etc.[1]

121. हल (BP.) .. = नारिकेल, 62; कपास, 16.[2]

†122. हिंगु (PP., Vyāsa, *Sm. Ch.*) .. Asafoetida, Beng. हिं; *Ferula asafoetida*. Syn. रामठ, पिण्याक, 74.[3]

B. Unidentified

(1) अंकुर (MB.), (2) अञ्जनपुष्प (BP., BrPar.), (3) अर्जुनीफल (BP.), (4) कटुपत्रिका (BP.), (5) कपेल्ल (Ht.),[4] (6) काकोल (BP.), (7) गतास्थिग (BP.), (8) चीनाक (BP.),[5] (9) जम्भारिका (BrPar.), (10) तुण्डीर (Ś.), (11) नलिनी (BP.),[6] (12) नृत्य (BP.),[7] (13) पुरुषाल (BP.), (14) सैनिक (Viśwāmitra), (15) मर्कटक (MrP.),[8] (16) मालान (?) (MB.), (17) रुचक (KP.),[9] (18) वसु (MrP.),[10] (19) विप्रुष, विप्रुषीका (BP., MrP.),[11] (20) विषकन्द (BP.),[12] (21) सुगन्ध (BmdP.), सुगन्धि (KP.),[13] (22) सुदर्शन (MB.),[14] (23) हंसुक (Ht.).

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[1] VSS. gives various other meanings, e.g. कृष्णजीरक, गन्धशालि, रक्तशिग्रु, श्वास्फोनक, श्वेतकेतकी, श्वेतमुक्तक, श्वेतकरवीर, भूतृण, कसेरु, etc. = *Cocculus tomentosa* (M. W.). सुरसा is तुलसी, *Ocimum sanctum*; महाजम्बु (*Vaijayantī*), गन्धनाकुली (do.), etc.

[2] लांगली (H.); नालिकेरी (ŚK. commentary).

[3] Contra आदित्यपुराण (*Sm. Ch.*).

[4] कम्पिल्ल = Sunda Rocani (Oppert.).

[5] अतिदीर्घाकारमेवारुसदृशं (H.). N.S. reads वीनाक = कृष्णदीर्घकर्कटी.

[6] = Lotus.

[7] = नटी (H.) which = नीली (*Amara*), a vegetable perfume (Oppert.).

[8] तृणधान्यविशेष, also लंका (H.). माकडा इति लोके (ŚK. commentary). मधूलिका (Dm.). A kind of wild panic (Oppert.). मधूलिका is यावनाल, Sorghum.

[9] May mean मातुलुंग = बीजपूर, 78. विडंग, *Embelia ribes*; श्वेत एरण्ड, *Ricinus communis*; सौवर्चल, Sochal salt and रोचना, a bright yellow pigment, etc.

[10] लोहितं वसु = लोहितवसुकशाकः यद्वा लोहितवर्ण करीरपुष्पादि (H.).वसु = *Sesbania grandiflora*, Beng. वक, or white swallow wort, *Aeschynomene grandiflora* (?) (Oppert.). Also yellow kidney bean, पीतमुद्ग (*Vaijayantī*).

[11] शालिभेद (H.).

[12] = नीलकन्द, माहिषकन्द, a black big root (?).

[13] गन्धनाकुल्याः दंचादि (H.), *Ophioxylon serpentinum*. सुगन्ध may mean a large variety of fragrant creepers. According to *Vaijayantī* सुगन्ध = (1) तिलक, plant? (2) मुस्ता, *Cyperus rotundus* (Oppert.). सुगन्धि = (1) तुलसी, *Ocimum basilicum*, *O. thrysiflorum* (Oppert.). (2) सूक्ष्मजीरक, *Cuminum cyminum* (Oppert.).

[14] सुदर्शना = चक्रांका, दध्यालो (*Vaijayantī*), *Cocculus tomentosa* (Oppert.).

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TABLE IV

PLANTS AND VEGETABLES RECOMMENDED FOR OFFERING TO ANCESTORS (श्राद्धे देय)

* *Prohibited by other Authorities, vide Table III.*

1. अक्षोट (KP.,* MrP., VP.) .. .. Walnut, Beng. आखरोट्; *Aleurites molaccana*; *Juglans regia*.[1]
2. अगस्त्य (VP.) .. Beng. बक; *Sesbania grandiflora*. Syn. मुनिद्रुम (H.).
3. अम्बुवेत्रांकुर (KP.*) .. Shoot of cane or reed growing in water. Syn. जलवेतस, नादेयी.
4. आमलक (KP.,* VP., SKP.) .. Myrobalan, Beng. आमलकी, आम्ला; *Phyllanthus emblica*.
5. आम्र (Ś., BP., KP.,* VP., SKP.) .. Mango, Beng. आम; *Mangifera indica*. Syn. रसाल, चूत, सहकार, etc.
6. आम्रातक (BP., KP.,* VP., SKP.) .. Hog-plum, Beng. आम्ड़ा; *Spondias mangifera*. Syn. कपीतन.
7. आरुक (BP., MrP.) .. = आरण्य एर्वारुक (H.), 11.[2]
8. आर्द्रक (VP.) .. Ginger, Beng. आदा; *Zingiber officinale*.
9. इक्षु (MrP., NS., Ś., BD., H.) .. Sugarcane, Beng. आख्; *Saccharum officinarum*.
10. इंगुद (MrP.) .. Beng. इंगुदी, हिंगण; *Balanites roxburghii*.[3]
11. एर्वारु (BP., MrP.) .. Melon, Beng. काँकुड, फुटि; *Cucumis melo* var. *utilissimus*. Syn. कर्कटी.[4]
12. कक्कोर (KP.) .. Green turmeric, Beng. काँचा हलुद; *Curcuma longa*. Also कर्चूर, *C. domesticus*.
*13. कक्षुक (MrP.) .. Round gourd = दत्तालावु (*Sm. Ch.*), Beng. गोल लाउ; *Lagenaria leucantha*; *L. vulgaris*.[5]

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[1] द्वीपान्तरीयपीलुफलम् (H.).

[2] Also आड (Beng.), a medicinal plant.

[3] इंगुदी तापसतरौ न द्वयोः स्त्री-स्त्रीपदापरे (ŚK.); स्त्रीपदापर is पुत्रंजीव, Beng. जियापुता; *Putranjiva roxburghii*. कण्टकिवृक्षः, अन्ये पुत्रंजीवमाहुः (Dm.). See valuable discussion in BhP. commentary.

[4] स्वादुकर्कटी (PM.), ग्रीष्मकर्कटिका, लोमशा (Dm.).

[5] कर्चूरो गन्धमूले स्यात् कर्चूरं नटमण्डने (ŚK.). गन्धमूल is शटी, *Curcuma sedoaria*; *C. zerumbet*; नटमण्डन is हरिताल.

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14. कट्फल (KP.,* SKP.) Bay berry, Beng. कायफल; *Myrica sapida*; *M. ragi*. Syn. श्रीपर्णिका, कुम्भी (PM.).[1]

15. कतक (SKP.) .. Clearing nut, Beng. निर्मली; *Strychnos potatorum*.

16. कदली (Aśvalāyana) Plantain, banana, Beng. कला; *Musa paradisiaca*; *M. sapientum*.

*17. कन्द (MrP., VP.) .. Arum, Beng. ओल; *Amorphophallus campanulatus*. Syn. सूरण.[2]

18. कर्कन्धू (BP., VP., MrP.) Indian plum, Beng. कुल; *Zizyphus jujuba*. Syn. क्षुद्रबदरी, कोलि.[3]

*19. कलाय (VP., KP.) .. Pea, Beng. मटर; *Pisum sativum*. Syn. सतीन.[4]

20. कसेरु (SKP., VP., KP.*) .. .. Beng. केशुर; *Scirpus grossus*. Syn. भद्रमुस्ता (PM.).[5]

21. काकोली / क्षीरकाकोली (MrP.) Beng. काँक्ला? *Calculus indicus* (M. W.). *Tizyphus napeca* (BhP. commentary) (?).[6]

22. कालशाक (KP., VP., SKP.) .. (1) Beng. नट्चा, नालिता (ŚKD); *Corchorus capisularis*. Syn. आद्यशाक.
(2) Beng. चँच्को (VŚS.); *Marsilea dentata*. Syn. चुञ्चु.
(3) Beng. कालकासुन्दा; *Cassia sophora*. Syn. कासमर्द.[7]

23. कालेय (KP.,* SKP.).. Beng. दारुहरिद्रा; *Berberis asiatica*. Syn. दारुहरिद्रा.[8]

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1 शाकविशेषः (VŚS.); दत्तकुम्भी (*Vaijayantī*); दत्ताकारमल्लावुफलं (*Sm. Ch.*).

2 कन्दोऽन्दे शूरणे, शस्यमूले (Hema°); शस्यमूल = esculent root in general.

3 अरण्यबदरीफलम् (H.).

4 कलायस्त्रिपुटो ज्ञेयः सतीनो वर्त्तुलो मतः, Vyāḍi quoted by Bharata on Amara. Amara has कलायस्तु सतीनकः, हरेणुखण्डिको चास्मिन्; हरेणु is pigeon pea, Beng. अडहर, *Cajanus indicus*. खण्डिक is chick pea, Beng. खेसारी, *Lathyrus sativus*.

5 जलजः कन्दः (NS.).

6 गौडदेशे प्रसिद्धौ (*Sm. Ch.*). क्षीरकाकोली is a less dark variety.

7 *Sm. Ch.* in one place identifies it with कृष्णार्जक but elsewhere says कौटशमिति न विद्मः। = कालिकाशाकमुत्तरदेशे प्रसिद्धम् (PM.). कालिकी denotes many plants (M. W.) = कासमर्दः, सूषाभेदः, करौन्दीति ख्यातः (ŚKC.).

8 करालाख्यशाकम् (Govindarāja). करालस्तु कुठेरे स्यात् (Hema). कुठेरक is तुलसी, *Ocimum sanctum* or *O. gratissimum*. Also क्षौवं कृष्णकुठेरके (*Medinī*); दारुहरिद्रा (NS. quoting इन्दुचन्द्रोदय); various other meanings are given in the lexicons, e.g. कुंकुम, saffron, चन्दन, sandal wood, etc.

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24. कुम्बर (BP.) .. Coriander, Beng. धने; *Coriandrum sativum*. Syn. कुस्तुम्बर (H.) धन्याक.[1]

*25. कृष्णमाष (Prachetas) Black pea, Beng. माषकलाइ=माष, 76.

26. केवुक (S.) .. .. Beng. कँउ; *Costus spiniosus* = केमुक (NS.).[2]

27. कोविदार (MrP., KP., VP.) .. Beng. रक्तकांचन; *Bauhinia variegata*. Syn. उद्दाल, कांचनार.[3]

28. क्षौरिका (MrP.) .. Beng. क्षौरी; *Mimusops kauki*. Syn. राजादन, फलाध्यक्ष.

29. खर्जूर (BP., KP.,* SKP., VP.) .. Date, Beng. खेजूर; *Phoenix sylvestris*.

30. गोधूम (BP., KP., MrP.) .. Wheat, Beng. गम; *Triticum vulgare*.

31. चक्रिका (MrP.) .. Beng. छोट कालकासुन्दा; *Cassia sophora*. Syn. कासमर्द.[4]

32. चणक (KP., BP., MrP.) .. Gram, Beng. चाणा; *Cicer arietinum*. Syn. हरिमन्थक.[5]

33. चव्य (VP.) .. Beng. चइ; *Piper chava*.[6]

34. चार (VP.) .. Piyal, Beng. पियाशाल; *Buchanania latifolia*. Syn. प्रियाल, पीतशालक, etc.[7]

*35. चिर्भिट (MrP.) .. = एर्वारु, 11.

*36. चुक्रिका (SKP.) .. (1) Tamarind, Beng. तेँतुल; *Tamarindus indicus*. Syn. तिन्तिडी, चिंचा, चुक्री.[8]

(2) Indian sorrel, Beng. आम्रुल; *Oxalis corniculata*. Syn. अम्बष्ठा, अम्ललोणी, चांगेरी.

37. चुच्चु (KP.) .. Beng. चेँच्को; *Marsilea dentata*.[9]

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[1] कुस्तुम्बर is prohibited if grown in Kalinga (कलिंगोत्थ) (MB.).

[2] आर्द्रकसदृशः कन्दः, आरण्यकेवुकविषयः प्रतिषेधः (H.). कर्चूराख्यशाकः (NS., *Sm. Ch.*). Also read केचुक = कचु, *Colocasia esculenta*.

[3] A kind of gram from context.

[4] Also श्वेतगुञ्जा, रक्तकांपासी (VŚS.), मेथि (BhP. commentary).

[5] MrP. (NS.), Viṣnudharmottara (H.).

[6] Identification disputed. See BhP. commentary. Other meanings, e.g. गजपिप्पली, कार्पास (VŚS.), वचा (*Medinī*).

[7] = चुद्रताल, dwarf palm (NS.).

[8] चुक्रिका चांगेरी चिञ्चा (H.); चिरकालशुक्तं पानीयम्, a sour drink (NS.). PM. reads चक्रिका, 31. चुक्रम्बष्ठाचिञ्चयोः (ŚK.).

[9] =गोनाडीक्य (*Medinī*); also वर्धमान, castor oil plant (ŚK.).

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*38. चोर (SKP.) .. Beng. पिरिं; *Trigonella corniculata*. Syn. स्पृक्का.[1]

*39. जम्बु (BP.) .. Blackberry, Beng. कालोजाम; *Eugenia jambolana*; *Syzygium cuminii*.

*40. तन्दुलीय (BP.) .. Beng. चाँपानटे; *Amaranthus tristis*; *A. polygamous*. Syn. अल्पमारिष.

41. तमाल (KP.,* SKP.) (1) Beng. तमाल; *Garcinia xanthochymus*.
(2) Beng. वरुण; *Crataeva religiosa*; *C. roxburghii*.
(3) Beng. केंद; *Diospyros tomentosa*.

42. तालकन्द (KP.,* SKP., MrP.) .. Beng. तालमूली; *Curculigo orchioides*. Syn. मुसली.

43. तिन्तिडी (BP.) .. Tamarind = चुक्रिका (1), 36.

44. तिन्दुक (VP., KP., SKP.) .. Beng. गाव; *Diospyros embryopteris*; *D. peregrina*. Syn. सौतिसार (PM.); म्रितिसारक, कालसार (Dm.).

45. तिल (Prachetas, BP., MrP., KP.) .. Sesamum, Beng. तिल; *Sesamum orientale*; *S. indicum*.

46. तिलपटक (MrP.) .. Beng. पटोल; *Tricosanthes dioica*. Syn. पटोल.

47. त्रपुस (MrP.) .. Cucumber, Beng. शशा, क्षीरा; *Cucumis sativus*.[2]

48. दाडिम (Ś., BP., VP., KP.,* SKP.) .. Pomegranate, Beng. डालिम; *Punica granatum*.

49. दीर्घमूलक (KP.*) .. Radish, Beng. मूला; *Raphanus sativus*. Syn. मूलक.

50. द्राक्षा (BP., KP.,* SKP.) .. .. Grape, Beng. आंङुर; *Vitis vinifera*.[3]

51. द्रोणपत्र
द्रोणपुष्पक } (VP.) .. Beng. दगडकलस, हल्कसा, गलघसा; *Leucus linifolia*.[4]

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[1] According to ŚK., it indicates two plants: (1) निशाचर or गणदासक, (2) शंखा or चोरपुष्पी. See *ante* p. 195=*Chlorophytum arundinaceum* (BhP. commentary).

[2] Also = कर्कटी (VŚS.). सुधावासः तेरसा इति लोके (Dm.).

[3] KP.* qualifies कौंकणी द्राक्षा—उपलक्षणञ्चैतत् खाटुरसायाः (H.).

[4] गुम इति प्रसिद्धं (NS.).

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52. नवशालि (Prachetas) Fresh sali grain.

53. नागरंग (BP.) .. Orange, Beng. कमला; *Citrus aurantium*. Syn. नारंगक.

54. नारिकेल (BP., KP.) Coco-nut, Beng. नारिकेल; *Cocos nucifera*.

*55. निष्पाव (MrP.) .. Bean, Beng. शिम; *Dolichos lablab*.[1]

56. नीवार (BP., KP.,* VP.) .. .. Wild rice, Beng. ऊरीधान; *Oryza sativa* (?).[2]

57. पटोल (BP., KP., VP.) .. .. = तिलपटक, 46.

58. पद्मफल (MrP.) .. Lotus seed, Beng. पद्मफल; *N. speciosum*; *Nelumbium nucifera*.

*59. पनस (MrP., VP.) .. Jackfruit, Beng. काँठाल; *Artocarpus integrifolia*.

60. परूषक (BP., KP.*) .. Beng. फलसा; *Grewia asiatica*.[3]

*61. पिण्डालक (MrP.) .. Yam, Beng. चुव्रि आलु; *Dioscorea globosa*.[4]

62. पिप्पली (KP.) .. Pepper, Beng. पिपुल; *Piper longum*.[5]

63. प्राचीनामलक (BP.) .. Beng. पाणिआम्ला; *Flacourtia cata-phracta*. Syn. पानीयामलक (H.).

64. प्रियंगु (BP., KP., MrP.) .. .. Italian millet, Beng. कांनी धान; *Setaria italica*. Syn. कंगु (H.).[6]

65. प्रियाल (BP., MrP., SKP.) .. .. Piyal = चार, 34.

66. फल्गु (MrP.) .. Beng. काकडुमुर; *Ficus hispida*. Syn. काकोदुम्बरिका.[7]

67. बदर, बदरी (BP., VP., MrP., SKP.) = कर्कन्धू, 18.

*68. बीजपूरक (BP., MrP.) Citron, Beng. वेगपूरा; *Citrus medica*. Syn. मातुलुंग.[8]

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[1] Means various kinds of beans, e.g. राजशिम्बी, राजमाष = वल्ल; श्वेतशिम्बी (NS.).

[2] कुधान्य (Suśruta).

[3] कोंकणे प्रसिद्धः (H.).

[4] सुथनी, महाराष्ट्राणां मोचलकन्द इति प्रसिद्धः (NS.)—elsewhere पेण्डर इति प्रसिद्धः (NS.); Beng. कर्‌हाट; *Trewia nudiflora* (BhP. commentary).

[5] The शाक, leaves, are prohibited.

[6] प्रियंगु denotes many plants, e.g. the creeper—*Aglaia odorata* (*A. roxburghiana*); धातकी, राजसर्षप, श्यामा, etc. = कंगुः उदारचीनः (H.). प्रियंगू राजसर्षपे पिप्पल्यां फलिनीकंगवोः (Hema). फलिनी itself may mean more than one plant.

[7] Also यज्ञडुमुर = क्षुद्रामलक (*Sm. Ch.*).

[8] Also Beng. वातावी लेबु; *C. decumana*.

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*69.	वृहती (KP.*) ..	Brinjal, Beng. **ব্যাকুড়**; *Solanum indicum.*[1]
70.	भव्य (Ś., BP., KP.,* SKP.)	Beng. **কামরাঙ্গা**; *Averrhoa carambola.* Syn. **কর্মরঙ্গ.**[2]
71.	भिद	Bitter-gourd, Beng. **করলা, উচ্ছে**; *Momordia charantia.*[3]
72.	मधुकाह्वय (KP., SKP.)	Liquorice, Beng. **যষ্টিমধু**; *Glycerhizza glabra.* Syn. **জ্যেষ্ঠীমধু** (H.). **মধুক.**[4]
73.	मधूलिका (Prachetas)	Jowar, Beng. **জোয়ার**; *Sorghum vulgare.* Syn. **যাবনাল** (H.).[5]
*74.	मरिच, मरीच. (KP.,* VP.)	Black pepper, Beng. **গোলমরিচ**; *Piper nigrum.*[6]
75.	महायव (Prachetas)..	(1) Large grained barley (M. W.). (2) Bamboo 'seed' = **বেণুবীজ** (NS.).
*76.	माष (BP., KP., MrP.)	Black pea, Beng. **মাষকলাই**; *Phaseolus mungo* var. *roxburghii.*
*77.	मुद्ग (BP., KP., MrP., SKP.)	Green pea; Beng. **মুগ**; *Phaseolus aureus.*
78.	मूलक (BP., KP.) ..	= दीर्घमूलक, 49.
79.	मृद्वीका (Ś., KP.,* VP., SKP.) ..	= द्राक्षा, 50.
80.	मोच (KP.,* SKP., MrP.)	= कदली, 16.[7]
81.	यव (KP., MrP.) ..	Barley, Beng. **যব**; *Hordeum vulgare.*
82.	राजजम्बू (MrP.) ..	Big blackberry, Beng. **বড় জাম্**; *Eugenia jambolana; Syzygium cuminii.*[8]
83.	राजशाक (MrP.) ..	White goosefoot, Beng. **বেতো**; *Chenopodium album.*[9]

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[1] वृहती क्षुद्रवार्ताक्यां कन्दोवसनभेदयोः, etc. (Hema) . . . कण्टिकार्यां (*Medinī*).

[2] कर्मरंगतरौ पुंसि (*Medinī*) भव्यमारुकं कार्त्तिकेयपुरे प्रसिद्धं, अन्ये तु कर्मरंगफलमाहुः, भव्यं . . . लफलोपमं वल्कलसंहतिमात्रमित्यपरे (Dm.) = चालता (?).

[3] तिक्तकर्कटी (*Sm. Ch.*).

[4] Also मधूकपुष्पं फलं वा (NS.); Beng. **মহুয়া**; *Bassia latifolia.*

[5] शालिविशेषः (H.); निःशूकदीर्घगोधूमः (ŚK); मर्कटस्तण्डुलः (Dm.).

[6] Also chilli, *Capsicum frutescens*, etc.

[7] Usually so rendered but **মোচ** is शिग्रु, *Moringa pterygosperma*, Beng. **সজিনা**, and **মোচা** is **কদলীফল. মोचः** शोभांजने पुंसि (*Medinī*).

[8] Also पिण्डखर्जूर, date; राजजम्बूस्तु जम्बूभित् पिण्डखर्जूरयोः स्त्रियाम् (Hema).

[9] राजवृक्षाख्यः शाकः (Mitra°).

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84. लकुच (BP., KP., MrP., SKP.) .. .. Monkey-jack, Beng. मान्दार, डङ्गया, डेङ्गो; *Artocarpus lakoocha*.[1]

85. वच (MrP.) .. Sweet flagroot, Beng. वच; *Acorus calamus*.

86. वत्सक (BP.) .. Beng. कूर्चि; *Holarrhena antidysenterica*. Syn. कुटजफल, इन्द्रयव.[2]

87. वास्तूक (BP., MrP.) .. = राजशाक, 83.

88. विदारी (Ś., MrP.) .. Beng. भूँइकुम्ड़ा; *Ipomoea digitata*; *I. paniculata*. Syn. क्रोष्ट्री, शालपर्णी.[3]

89. विल्व (BP., KP., SKP.) .. .. Bael, Beng. वेल; *Aegle marmelos*. Syn. मालूर, श्रीफल.[4]

90. विस (KP.,* SKP.) .. Lotus stalk, Beng. पद्मनाल. Syn. मृणाल.

91. वेत्रांकुर (KP., MrP., SKP.) .. .. Tip of cane or reed, Beng. वेतेर आगा; *Calamus rotang*; *C. fascicularis*.

92. वैकंकत (BP., KP.*) .. Beng. वँइचि; *Flacourtia indica*; *F. ramontchi*. Syn. सुवा.

93. व्रीहियव (Prachetas, BP.) .. = यव, 81.

94. शतकन्द (KP.,* SKP.) Beng. शतमूली; *Asparagus racemosus*. Syn. शतावरी (NS.).

95. शीतकन्दली (KP.,* SKP.) .. .. Esculent root of lotus, Beng. पद्मकन्द; Syn. शालूक (NS.).[5]

96. शृंगाट, शृंगाटक (Ś., KP., MrP.) .. Water-chestnut, Beng. पानिफल, सिंगारा; *Trapa bispinosa*.

97. श्यामाक (BP., KP., MrP.) .. .. Beng. शामाधान; *Panicum frumentaceum*.

98. सतीन (MrP., NS.) .. Grey pea, Beng. देशीमटर; *Pisum arvense*; *P. sativum*.[6]

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[1] लिकुचफलमेलावनेषु प्रसिद्धं (H.), again स च जम्बीरतुल्यफलगुल्मविशेषः (H.).

[2] इन्द्रयव may also be *Wrightia tomentosa*.

[3] विदारी रोगभेदे स्याच्छालौ पर्णीचुगन्धयोः (Hema); कृष्णवर्णभूकूष्माण्डीफलम् (PM.); तत्कन्दः (NS.); काष्ठलाकार लोहितपुष्पं (ŚK. commentary).

[4] रक्तविल्व is prohibited.

[5] कुमुदादिमूलम् (*Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*).

[6] कलायसिपुटो ज्ञेयः सतीनो वर्तुलो मतः (Vyāḍi quoted by Bharata). Dalvanamiśra to the same effect.

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*99. सर्षप (BP., MrP.) .. Mustard, Beng. श्वेतसरिषा; *Brassica campestris*.[1]

100. सुनिषण्ण (KP.*) .. Beng. सुषुनि शाक; *Marsilia quadrifolia* (*quadrifida*).[2]

101. सुवर्चल (KP.,* SKP.).. (1) Wild mustard, Beng. हड्हडे; *Cleome viscosa*. Syn. सूर्यभक्ता, आदित्यभक्ता.

(2) Beng. चेँच्को; *Marsilia dentata*. Syn. चुच्चु (H.).[3]

B. UNIDENTIFIED

(1) उष्ट्रग्रीव (KP.),[4] (2) कम्पन (KP.*), (3) कृष्णनालिका (KP.),[5] (4) ग्रीवक (VP.),[6] (5) पालेवत (Ś., KP.,* VP., MrP., SKP.), (6) पौष्कर (MrP.),[7] (7) प्रश्नन्तिका (BP., MrP.),[8] (8) नीलकपित्थ (BP.),[9] (9) भरुण्ड (Ś., MrP.),[10] (10) भूत (BP.),[11] (11) मध्वालु (KP.,* SKP.),[12] (12) महाशाक (VP.), (13) मुञ्जातक (MrP.),[13] (14) राजश्यामाक (MrP.), (15) लोच (MrP.),[14] (16) वारु,

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[1] Black mustard or rye, राजसर्षप, राजिका, *Brassica juncea*, is prohibited.

[2] चांगरीसदृशो जलप्रभवः शाकविशेषः सुनसुनेति प्रसिद्धः (H.). वितुन्नशाकः (PM.). But कर्कटीसदृशं सुल्टिया (?) इति गौडप्रसिद्धः (NS.).

[3] चुच्चू, चूचुरिति प्रसिद्धं (H.). सुवर्चल may mean a large number of plants, e.g. अतसी, ब्राह्मी, etc. ब्राह्मी may itself denote a large number of plants = दुर्वावर्तः, केचिन्मारुषसदृशपर्णं अतिगलसदृशपत्रं लक्षणमाहुः (Dm.).

[4] तदाकृतिफलमुत्तरापथे प्रसिद्धं (H.).

[5] नालिका is prohibited = *Corchorus capisularis*.

[6] जम्बीराकारफलं काश्मीरेषु प्रसिद्धं (Lakṣmīdhara, H.). जम्बीरं पालियाल इति गौडप्रसिद्धं (NS.). A kind of date (M. W.). Also guava (VŚS.). पारावतः कामरूपे फलं पाककाले धवललोहितं मधुराम्लं च (Dm.). तिन्दुकाकृतिफलं लघुपाण्डुपुष्पं नीलच्छदं हि कथितं पारेवताख्यं तत् पुष्करारण्यसमीपे प्रसिद्धं (ŚKC.). अथ पारेवतमस्त्रियाम्। पारेवतो रैवतं च रैवतोऽपि सुधाफलः। मधुश्रस्रोऽप्युलूनी स्त्री तद्भेदाः स्युरनेकशः॥ दृढत्वारेवतं द्वीपखर्जूरी द्वीपजादयः॥—Keśava.

[7] Lit. Lotus root, पुष्करमूलं; सुगन्धगन्धद्रव्यविशेषः, Bharata; root of *Costus speciosus*, *C. arabicus* or *Inula racemosa*, Beng. कुड (BhP.).

[8] मध्यदेशे प्रसिद्धः (H.).

[9] कपित्थ is prohibited.

[10] काश्मीरदेशे प्रसिद्धः (H.). जलजं, मखाना इति त्राडमंजर्यां, भूकूष्माण्डमित्यन्ये (NS.).

[11] भूतदृच्च means (*a*) शाखोट, Beng. शेयाओरा, *Streblus asper*; (*b*) सोनाक, *Calosanthes indica*, *Bignonia indica* or (*c*) कलि or विभीतक, Beng. बहेडा, *Terminalia bellerica*. भूतदृच्चस्तु शाखोटे सोनाककलिदृच्चयोः (Hema).

[12] A kind of sweet yam, Beng. मौचालु, दीर्घसुथनी (BhP. commentary); दीर्घरोमा मधुरैकरसः कन्दविशेषः शेहालुरिति प्रसिद्धः (H.); रोमशमधुराख्यः (Dm.).

[13] गौडदेशे प्रसिद्धं फलं (H.); कन्दविशेषः, वनसूरणः (VŚS.), *Amorphophallas campanulatus* (?). Vide कन्द; ordinarily it means the grass भद्रमुस्ता, Beng. सर, *Saccharum arundinaceum*.

[14] लोचकं = कदली.

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वार्क्क (BP.),[1] (17) शुभ (MrP.),[1] (18) सिञ्चन्ती (KP.),[2] (19) सुगन्धगन्धि (MrP.),[3] (20) सुगन्धि (KP, VP.),[4] (21) हरिश्यामाक (BP.).[5]

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1 शुभ = फेनिल (*Vaijayantī*).

2 रुदन्ती (H.). A large number of meanings, e.g. नीलिनी = indigo plant (*Vaijayantī*).

3 कर्पूरचोरकः पिण्डालुकमदशचीरितपर्णः सोधीति लाटदेशे प्रसिद्धः शाकविशेषः, कन्दविशेष इत्यपरे (H.).

4 = तुलसी or सूक्ष्मजीरक (*Vaijayantī*). It may mean any fragrant thing.

5 श्यामाक occurs in both BP. and MrP.

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NOTE ON THE WORSHIP OF THE DEITY *BON BIBI* IN THE SUNDARBANS

By H. L. Sarkar

During the month of November, 1949, the present author was surveying some of the fishing grounds inside the Sundarbans reserve forest area, West Bengal. In the course of this work, I visited a *sai* (a group of fishermen working under an expert fisherman) near the *Machua Khal* of Gona river.

At that place on the bank a small temporary hut attracted my attention. On enquiry it was revealed that *Bon Bibi*[1] (the goddess of the forest) was worshipped there. Hora (1934) has already recorded the worship of *Bon Bibi* along with *Ola* and *Jhola* (goddess of Cholera) in Lower Bengal. In the present paper an attempt has been made to record the detailed descriptions of *Bon Bibi* which were lacking in the previous paper.

On closer inspection it was found that the hut was constructed on a very low mud platform. The three sides of the hut were covered by the wall made up of split bamboos and some long dried grass. The front portion of the hut was with an entrance but without any door. The roof of the hut was covered with grass (Plate I). The hut observed by Hora was constructed by 'stakes and leaves of Pakhur gachh'.[2] The height of the hut was nearly a man's height and the floor space was approximately 6×8 feet. Inside the hut a bamboo platform of nearly two and a half feet in height was erected. On the platform a number of images were observed. Hora found that all the images were placed on the mud platform and not on the bamboo platform. The images were measuring from 4 inches to 8 inches in erected posture. They were beautifully built clay figures dressed with variously coloured clothes and were arranged in the following fashion.

In the centre, a figure of a lady was seated on a Royal Bengal tiger, which I was told was *Bon Bibi*. On the lap of *Bon Bibi* a boy was seated and was called *Dhukhi* (one who suffers). Near the foot of *Bon Bibi* on the right-hand side, close to the tiger, a strong and stout man stood with open sword in his hand known as *Dakhinya Rai*.[3] Just behind *Dakhinya Rai*, a Mohammedan Fakir, with white beard, known as *Ajmal*, was standing with his right arm stretched outwards and the forearm bent in upward posture.[4] In front of *Dakhinya Rai* a severed head and the body of a boy were lying, which were observed with a strange look by *Dakhinya Rai*. An arch roughly painted with leaves and flowers was placed behind all these figures. Of all these above-mentioned images Hora could observe only two because all the others either were destroyed or removed previously by the boys of the neighbourhood. The fishermen could not give any suitable explanation about all these figures.[5]

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[1] Sometimes the fishermen call it *Ma Bon Bibi* (mother goddess of the forest).

[2] It is not clear what is meant by leaves of Pakhur gachh. From Fig. 2, Plate I, of this paper it is found that the leaves are of palmyra tree.

[3] Most probably he was one of the rulers of some part of Sundarban area.

[4] The position of the arm indicates that the Fakir is preventing somebody from doing something.

[5] Due to insufficient light inside the hut a photograph could not be taken.

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I was told by the fishermen that the *Bon Bibi* is worshipped before the fishing nets are put into the water for fishing operations. The worship of *Bon Bibi* is an age-old practice. It is not very long since the Sundarban area was infested with dangerous wild animals. The fishermen believe that the worship of *Bon Bibi* will keep them out of harm. Though at present the wild animals have disappeared considerably, due to the deforestation and the spread of civilization, the goddess does not seem to have lost her former prestige.

It is a general custom that the *puja* (worship) will be performed by the Brahmins. But I was told by the fishermen that, due to the non-availability of Brahmins at such an obscure place, one of the members of fishermen performs the *puja* of *Bon Bibi*. In the *puja* the goddess is offered rice, fruits, sugar or some sweets which the fishermen carry with them to the fishing grounds. After the *puja* each member of the group takes some *prashad* (a small quantity of foodstuff offered to the goddess). Hora observed that a goat is sacrificed to the goddess during the *puja*. But this information could not be collected by the writer whether the same practice is followed inside the Sundarbans or not. Most probably this practice is not followed for the non-availability of the goat and the particular caste, in the Sundarbans, who beheads the goat. In addition to this I have not observed any wooden frame specially constructed for beheading the head of sacrificed animals before the hut.

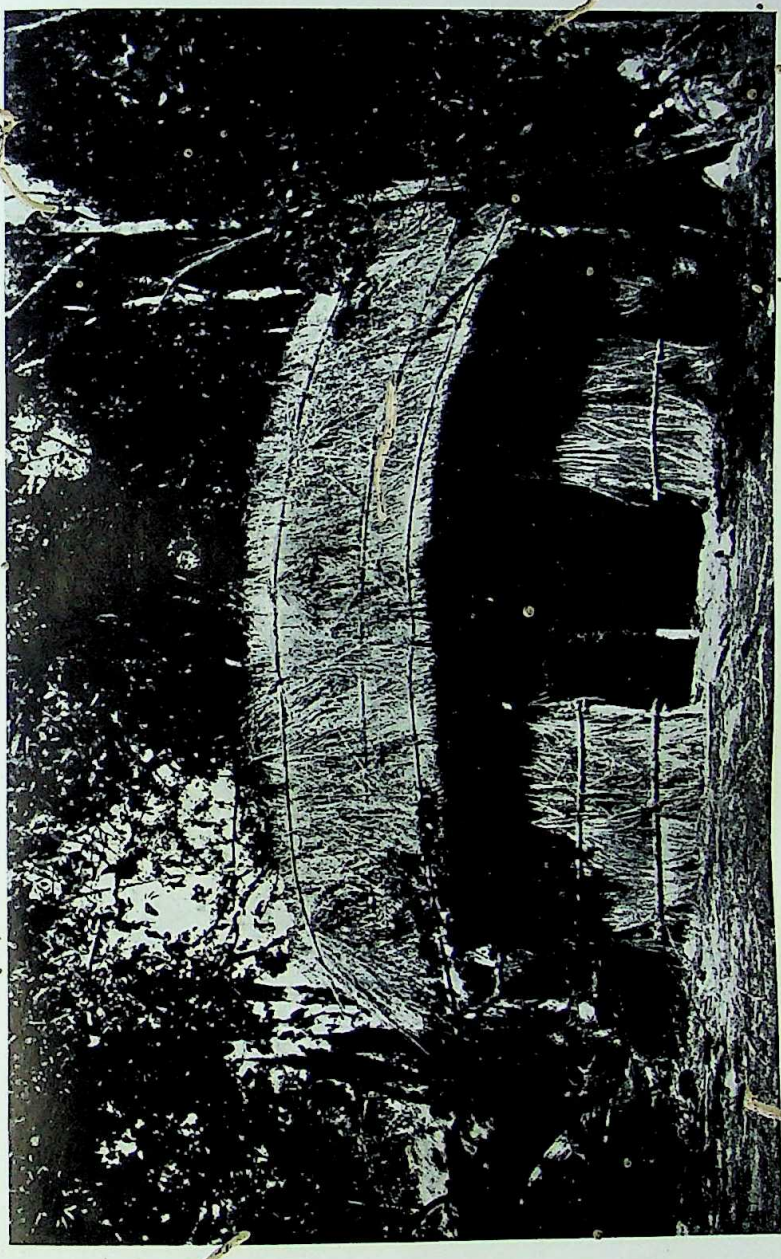
It may not be out of place to mention here that the worship of *Bon Bibi* is not only done by the fishermen class but also by the wood-cutters and the honey collectors inside the Sundarban area. Moreover, the worship of *Bon Bibi* takes place also outside the Sundarbans for a particular occasion or as a general routine matter in the villages, in which all the villagers take part irrespective of caste and creed.

Reference

Hora, Sunder Lal (1934). Worship of the Deities Ola Jhola and Bon Bibi in Lower Bengal. *Jour. and Proc. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, N.S. XXIX, 1933, No. 1.

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Hut used for the worship of *Bon Bibi* at Sundarbans.

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PROBABLE SOURCES OF SOME APABHRAṂŚA STANZAS OF HEMACANDRA

By S. N. Ghosal

(Communicated by Sri Rakhahari Chatterjee)

P. L. Gune has made the following observations in his introduction to the *Bhavisattakahā*:

'Although he does not mention any dialects, Hemacandra's treatment of the Apabhraṁśa is complete. The value of the grammar is enhanced by the quotations in verse that he has given with every sūtra. Sometimes one single sūtra has several verses as instances. Until more literature in Apabhraṁśa is published it is not possible to trace their source; but they appear, as Pischel has rightly remarked, to be taken from some anthology like Hāla's Sattasaī[1] (Ed. *Bhavisattakahā*, p. 64). The sources of the Apabhraṁśa verses, which are thus described by Gune, have not been traced so far. In this paper an attempt has been made to trace the sources of a number of those stanzas, which is insufficient in consideration to the extent of researches needed for solution of the problem. We shall refer to the texts from which the verses are believed to have been taken and judge how far the question of borrowing is true. For such a purpose let us divide the verses into three classes:—firstly, those which are quoted verbatim in other works without any change whatsoever (barring the variant readings); secondly, those which are found in other works with slight changes and their identity is sometimes easily perceived; thirdly, those which, expressing sentiments and thoughts of kindred nature, appear in different forms in the other works.

In our endeavour we first look to the *Sattasaī* of Hāla, with which the erotic verses of Hemacandra have some affinity. Such an affinity is mainly due to the fact that the Prākrit lyrics, of which the current was flowing down traditionally for a long time and which were cultivated with much care by Hāla, had their natural development in the Apabhraṁśa poems, some relics of which we still find in Hemacandra.

In the beginning we should mention that we do not find any reason to accept as true Pischel's suggestion that the verses of Hemacandra were taken possibly from some anthology like Hāla's Sattasaī, which was assumed to be a fact by Gune. We believe, on the contrary, that the verses, which are of various nature and sentiments, were culled by Hemacandra from different Prākrit and Apabhraṁśa texts, and in his attempt to revise them, probably he made slight changes here and there. We have ordinarily adopted the text as given by P. L. Vaidya in his edition of Hemacandra's Prākrit grammar and fully utilized his translation.

Keith's surmise that the Prākrit lyrics passed into Apabhraṁśa as a result of the activities of the Ābhīras and the Gurjaras is based probably

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[1] Pischel's actual statement occurs as: 'Woher He's Beispiele stammen, ist noch nicht zu sagen. Sie machen die Eindruck, als ob sie einer Anthologie nach Art der Sattasaī entnommen waren'. Grammatik, Sec. 29, p. 30. (Trans.: It cannot be said whence the examples of Hemacandra have been derived. They give rise to such an impression that they were borrowed from an anthology like that of Hāla.)

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on Daṇḍin's assertion *Ābhīrādi-giraḥ Kāvyeṣvapabhraṁśa iti smṛtaḥ*,[1] which gave rise to various contentions among scholars. This statement of Daṇḍin, which is full of significance, has been subject to many widely-varying interpretations.

Now, let us see how far Hemacandra is indebted to Hāla. The verse Hāla II. 63

jeṇa viṇā ṇa jīvijjaï aṇuṇijjai so kaāvarāho vi
patte vi ṇaaradīhe bhaṇa kassa ṇa ballaho Aggī.

(Trans.: One who is indispensable is supplicated though he has done a fault. To whom is not fire a desired object, though it burns the city), which is quoted in the *Prākṛta-paiṅgala* Mātrā Vṛtta stanza 55, and *Vajjālaggā* 557 is differently expressed by Hemacandra in the verse

Vippia-āraü jaivi piu to vi taṁ āṇahi ajju.
Aggiṇa daḍḍhā jai vi gharu to teṁ aggiṁ kajjü. IV. 343. 2.

It is quite evident that Hemacandra borrowed it from Hāla though there is no means of determining the fact whether he took it directly from his anthology—the *Gāthāsaptaśatī* or from other text in which the verse was quoted. We find a few others also. The verse Hāla I. 17

chaï so vi pauttho ahaṁ a kuppejja so vi aṇuṇejja
ia kassavi phalaï maṇorahāṇa mālā piaamammi.

(Trans.: He living in the distance will return; I shall (pretend to) be angry with him and he will pacify me. Of whom such desires with reference to the lover become fulfilled in life?) has some resemblance with the stanza Hem. IV. 414. 4 that runs

esī piu rūsesu haü ruṭṭhī maï aṇuṇei
paggimva ei maṇorahaiṁ dukkaru daiu karei.

(Trans.: My lover will come: I shall get angry with him; he will console me when I shall be angry. So the cruel lover makes (his beloved) cherish such hopes[2].) There occurs also Hāla I. 93

Aviahṇapekkhaṇijjeṇa takkhaṇaṁ māmi teṇa diṭṭheṇa.
Siviṇaapīeṇa va pāṇieṇa tahna vvia ṇa phiṭṭā.

(Trans.: He, fit to be insatiably gazed at, was seen at that time; but he could not quench thirst (i.e. bring in satiety) as water drunk in a dream), which can be compared with Hemacandra IV. 434. 1

Saṁdeseṁ kāï tuhāreṇa jaṁ saṅgaho na milijjaï
suiṇantarammi piï pāṇieṇa pia piāsa kiṁ chijjaï.

(Trans.: What is the use of your messages when you do not give me your company; can thirst be quenched by water drunk in a dream?) The verse Hāla I. 95, which reads

so ṇāma saṁbharijjai pabbhasia jo khaṇaṁpi hiaāhi.
saṁbhariavvaṁ ca kaaṁ gaï ṇa ca pemmaṁ nirālamvaṁ.

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[1] *Kāvyādarśa* I. 36.

[2] Pischel has given a different interpretation to the second line. He translates the line as: 'Gewöhnlich bewirkt das Geschick dass solche Wünsche Schwer auszuführen sind' (i.e. das Geschick führt solche Wünsche nur selten aus). Hem.'s Gram. edited by Pischel, Vol. II, p. 213. (Trans.: Usually the fate acts in such a manner that the desires are not fulfilled (i.e. the fate rarely fulfils such desires).)

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(Trans.: He is indeed remembered, who is severed from the mind even for a moment. But when the remembrance of the lover is strenuously made and the same disappears forthwith love stands supportless, i.e. ceases to exist), may be fairly compared with the following of Hem., which has striking similarity with it.

sumarijjaï taṁ ballahaŭ jaṁ vīsaraï manāŭ
jahiṁ puṇu sumaraṇu jāuṁ gau taho nehaho kaï nāu. IV. 426. 1

(Trans.: That is called dear, which is remembered though it may have been forgotten for a while, but what is the name of that affection, the recollection of which comes and goes away quickly?[1]) The stanza Hāla II. 26

sā tujjha ballahā taṁ si majjha veso si tīa tujjha aham.
bālaa phuḍam bhaṇāmo pemmaṁ kira bahuviāraṁtti.

(Trans.: You love her, I love you, she despises you and you despise me; O fool! I speak to you frankly, love shows strange changes) has a faint similarity with the stanza IV. 370. 2 of Hem.

mahu hiaŭ taiṁ tāe tuhu sa vi aṇṇeṇ viṇaḍijjai
pia kāï karaŭ haŭ kāï tuhŭ macche macchu gilijjaï.

(Trans.: My heart is captured by you, she has captured you and she is harassed by another; my lover, what shall I do? what will you do? for a fish swallows another fish[2].) Again, Hāla V. 66

de suaṇu pasia ehṇiṁ puṇo vi sulahāï rusiavvāiṁ
esā maacchi maalaṁchanujjalā galaï chaṇarāï.

(Trans.: O fair lady! be pleased now, you may show your anger sometime later; O deer-eyed lady! this night of festivity bright at moonshine is quickly passing away) seems to have got an echo in the verse Hem. IV. 330. 3

ḍhollā maï tuhŭ vāriyā mā kuru dīhā māṇu.
niddae gamihī rattaḍī daḍavaḍa hoi vihāṇu.

(Trans.: Man (friend) I warned you not to be proud (not to hold out) for long; for the night would pass away in sleep, and it will dawn quickly). It would be noted that in the verse of Hāla the lady love is being pacified

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[1] Pischel translates the stanza as: 'Man sehnt sich (wieder) nach dem geliebtem, der uns eine kurze zeit vergisst. Was aber soll die liebe zu dem, bei dem sie bis auf die erinnerung fort ist? (d. h. der sich unserer überhaupt gar nicht mehr erinnert). Hem.'s Gr., ed. Pischel, Vol. II, p. 225. (Trans.: One longs for the lover, who forgets us for a short time. But of what value is love to him, from whom it disappears right at remembering (i.e. who does not remember us at all).) It should be noted that Alsdorf does not accept such translation of the verse. So according to him the translation should be thus: 'Das ist etwas Liebes, woran man sich erinnert, was man langsam nur (wenig) vergisst: wo aber selbst die Erinnerung (die Erinnerung einschliesslich, auch die Erinnerung noch mit) geschwunden ist: woher käme der Liebe dieser Name? d. h. wie kann man eine solche Liebe überhaupt Liebe nennen'. (Apabhraṁśa Studien, p. 89). (Trans.: That is something dear, which one remembers though one forgets it only a little slowly. But when the very remembrance (including the remembrance, together with the remembrance) has vanished, how can this name be used for love? i.e. how can one call such love as real love?) Here it is to be noted that Alsdorf's translation is the same as that of P. L. Vaidya.

[2] That there is similarity between the two stanzas has also been admitted by Pischel. See Hemacandra's Prākrit Grammar, ed. Pischel, Vol. II, p. 195.

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by the lover, while in Hemacandra the beloved is assuaging the anger of the lover. Again Hāla V. 80

jaï ṇa-ṇindiaṁ jaï amaṅgalaṁ jaï vimukka-majjāaṁ.
pupphavaïdaṁsaṇaṁ tahavi dei hiaassa nibbāṇaṁ.

(Trans.: Though meeting with an unclean woman is abhorred by the people, is unwholesome and marks the transgression of the limits of decency, yet it gives a thrill of delight into the hearts) and also Hāla VI. 29

loo jūraï jūraü vaaṇijjaṁ hoï hou taṁ nāma
ehi ṇimajjasu pāse pupphavaï ṇa ei me ṇiddā.

(Trans.: Some may be afflicted, may they be; some may speak ill of me, may they do; O unclean lady! come and lie down beside me; I am not getting any sleep) have some similarity in ideas with Hem. IV. 438. 3

soevā para vāriā pupphavaihĭ samāṇu
jaggevā puṇu ko dharaï jaï so veu pamāṇu.

(Trans.: Lying down with an unclean woman is prohibited; but if the authority of the Vedas is to be admitted who abides by this (noble) maxim of life?) Again Hāla VII. 95

dhaṇṇā vahirā andhā te ccia ṇanti mānuse loe.
na suṇanti pisuṇa vaanaṁ khalāṇaṁ riddhiṁ ṇa pekkhanti.

(Trans.: The deaf and the blind are fortunate and they prosper indeed in the world, since they do not hear the words of the wicked and see their prosperity) is indeed echoed in the verse Hem. IV. 340. 1

daivu ghaḍavaï vaṇi taruhŭ saxṇihă pakka phalāiṁ
so vari sukkhu paiṭṭha ṇa vi kaṇṇahĭ khala vayaṇāiṁ.

(Trans.: God has created ripe fruits on trees in the forests for birds; it is better to have that pleasure, but not to have words of the wicked falling on our ears.[1])

The next work that comes into consideration is another Prākrit anthology called *Vajjālaggā*, whose author is *Jayavallabha*, a Jain. It is believed to be younger than the *Sattasaï* of Hāla and it contains many of the verses of the latter. The stanzas of Hemacandra are more akin to the verses of the *Vajjālaggā* and we think that Hemacandra might have consulted it while culling illustrative stanzas for his grammar. It is to be curiously marked that Prof. Manomohan Ghosh in his introduction to the *Vajjālaggā* has already admitted such influence.[2] The verses of the *Vajjālaggā* bear unmistakably some notable characters of the breath of a free homely life

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[1] Pischel translates the second line as 'Der ist sehr glücklich in dessen Ohren nicht dringen die reden der schlechten'. Hem's Gr., ed. Pischel, Vol. II, p. 183. (Trans.: He is very fortunate in whose ears the words of the wicked do not penetrate). Alsdorf gives a slightly different interpretation and translates the same as: 'Das ist das höchste Glück dass nicht die Reden schlechter Menschen in die Ohren dringen'. Apabhraṁśa Studien, p. 74. (Trans.: It is the highest fortune that the words of the wicked do not enter into the ears.) P. L. Vaidya's translation seems to give the correct sense.

[2] Prof. Ghosh has said: 'Indeed verse 339 is quoted as a sentence in the Śṛṅgāradatta (Jacobi Select Stories, p. 70, v. 37) also verse 417 as an Apabhraṁśa verse in Hemacandra (Hem. Grammar of the Prākrit Languages, published by Pischel IV. 367. 1), whereas verse 723 agrees with Hem. IV. 444. 2, only with regard to the contents'. *Vajjālaggā*, Introduction, p. 7, footnote 8.

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in the close bosom of nature, which do not escape the observation of the scholars. About the affinity of the verses of the *Vajjālaggā* with the Apabhraṁśa lyrics of the later days Keith has made the following remarks:—'A later Prākrit anthology is the *Vajjālaggā* of Jayaballabha, a Svetāmbara Jain of uncertain date, who deliberately collects matter to illustrate the three ends of man—conduct, practical wisdom and love; to the latter topic falls two-thirds of the whole. The stanzas are in the Āryā metre and the Māhārāṣṭrī shows signs of the influence of Apabhraṁśa'[1] (Hist. of Skt. Lit., p. 226).

Now let us study the verses carefully and see how far the influence of the *Vajjālaggā* on the Apabhraṁśa stanzas of Hemacandra can be admitted. The verse 417 of the *Vajjālaggā* which reads

jaï so na ei geha̐ tā dūi ahomuhī tuma̐ kīsa,
so ho̐ī majjha pio jo tujjha na khaṇḍae vayaṇa̐.

(Trans.: If he does not come home, then oh messenger (go-between), why do you cast your face downward? He is dear to me who does not disregard your words) is echoed in the following verse of Hemacandra IV. 367. 1

jaï ṇa su āvaï dūi gharu kāï ahomuhu tujjhu.
vayaṇu ju khaṇḍaï taü sahie so pi̐ hoi na majjhu.

(Trans.: O messenger, if he does not come to my house, why is your face downcast? My dear friend, he who disregards your word cannot be dear to me.) Here, we must admit that the influence is unmistakable. Besides Vajjā. 433

taha jhīṇa tuha virahe aṇudiyaha̐ sundaraṅga taṇuya̐gī.
jaha siḍhilavalayanivaḍaṇabhayeṇa ubbhiyakarā bhamaï.

(Trans.: Due to separation from you the beautiful limbs of the fair lady are always emaciated; as if she walks with her arms raised upwards as she apprehends the fall of the slack bangles) partially corresponds to Hemacandra IV. 444. 2

valayāvalinivaḍaṇabhayeṇa dhaṇa uddhabbhua jāi
vallaha-viraha mahādahaho thāha gavesaï ṇāi.

(Trans.: On account of the fear of dropping down of her bracelets the fair lady walks with her arms raised up as if to find out the depth of the great tank of separation from her lover.) The second line of Hemacandra shows some originality, while the first seems to be a repetition of the second line of the afore-quoted verse of the *Vajjālaggā*. But the similarity seems to be greater between the verse Vajjā. 723

bhumīgayaṁ na cattā sūraṁ daṭṭuṇa cakkavāeṇa
jīyaggala vva dinnā munāliyā viraha-bhīeṇa.

(Trans.: Seeing the sun the cakravāka did not leave the ground (i.e. he did not be despaired of the transitorness of life): afraid as it was of

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[1] The influence of Ap. on the Māhārāṣṭrī dialect of the *Vajjālaggā* has been exhaustively shown by Julius Laber in his dissertation 'Über das Vajjālaggam des Jayaballabha', Leipzig, 1913. Jacobi has referred to the same and specifically mentioned some instances of this influence in his introduction to the *Bhavisattakahā* (please see Ed. *Bhabisattakahā*, Chap. 7. Über den Apabhraṁśa, § 8, p. 61).

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separation, a lotus-stalk was put into the mouth as a bar so that life-breath could not pass) and Hem. IV. 444. 1

ravi-atthamaṇi samāuleṇa kaṇṭhi viiṇṇu na chiṇṇu.
cakkeṁ khaṇḍu munāliahe ṇau jivaggalu diṇṇu.

(Trans.: On the setting of the sun the bird cakra (vāka) became excited (at the idea of separation from his mate) and did not eat the piece of lotus-fibre though he had put it into his mouth; it was as if put there as a bar so that his life should not depart [1]). Again Vajjā. 559

tāvaccia ḍhalahalayā jāva ccia ṇehapuriya sarīrā
siddhatthā uṇa cheyā nehavihūṇa khalīhunti.

(Trans.: The cultured (also the sesame crop) is so long soft as long as love (oil) exists in the body; but when the purpose is served, he (it) devoid of love (oil) proves to be a wicked person (is reduced to an oilcake)) corresponds well with Hem. IV. 406. 2

tilahă tilattaṇu tāă para jāă ṇa neha galanti.
ṇehi paṇaṭṭhai te jji tila tila phiṭṭavi khala honti.

(Trans.: Sesamum can be so called so long as the oil (स्नेह) is not pressed out; but when it is pressed out, the same sesamum loses its quality of being a sesamum and becomes खल (oilcake, wicked [2])).

The following three verses of the *Vajjālaggā* seem to be expressions fundamentally of one and the same idea, if we do not count the minor differences existing among themselves. These are Vajjā. 78

diṭṭhe vi hu hoi suhaṁ jaivi na pāvanti aṅga-saṅgāiṁ.
duraṭṭhio vi cando suṇivvuiṁ kuṇai kumuyāṇaṁ.

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[1] Pischel translates the verse: Von dem beim untergange der sonne bestürzten Cakravāka wurde (dem weibchen) ein am halse befindliches nicht zerrissenes stück einer lotusfaser glichsam als riegel des lebens gegeben. Hem.'s Gr., ed. Pischel, Vol. II, page 233. (Trans.: By Cakravāka, who was perplexed at the setting of the sun, a piece of lotus-string, which was put into the throat but not devoured, was given to his wife as a bar to the (passing away of) life). Obviously the Cakravāka did not give the lotus-stalk to his wife but he himself kept it into his throat without devouring up, so that his life-breath should not pass through his mouth. The idea is found in the *Subhāṣitāvalisaṁgraha* (No. 2483, ed. Peterson)

mitre kvāpi gate saroruhavane vaddhānane tāmyati
krandatsu bhramareṣu jātavirahāśaṅkāṁ vilokya priyām.
cakrāhvena viyoginā visalatā nāsvāditā nojjhvitā
kaṇṭhe kevalamargaleva nihitā jīvasya nirgacchataḥ.

[2] The second line of the verse has been a bone of contention among scholars, who have variously translated it. Pischel translates: 'Ist das oel vernichtet (= herausgepresst), dann werden die sesam-körner zu oelkuchen aus zerstampten sesamkörner'). Hem.'s Gr., ed. Pischel, Vol. II, p. 230. (Trans.: If oil be destroyed (= pressed out) the sesame grains become reduced to oilcakes from the crushed sesame grains). But Alsdorf does not accept it and advances his own translation. 'Ist (aber) das öl daraus fort, so sind eben dieselben sesamkörner, wenn auch sesam-öl kuchen, (eben doch nur mehr) ölkuchen: D. h., wenn man auch von tilakiṭṭa spricht, im Grunde sind es doch ganz gemeine khala und eben nicht mehr tila'. Ap. Studien, p. 85. (Trans.: If oil vanishes from them, the same sesame grains, though oilcakes of sesame are (merely) oilcakes. That is when one speaks of tila-kiṭṭa, there occurs at the basis the very common khala and no longer tila). It is interesting to note that Alsdorf reads kiṭṭa vi for phiṭṭa vi. The correct interpretation seems to have been given by P. L. Vaidya.

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(Trans.: If there be no physical contacts some pleasure can be derived at least by sight of the desired person: the moon though placed at a distance gives delight to the lilies), Vajjā. 77

dūraṭṭhiyā na dūraṁ sajjanacittāṇa puvvamiliyāṇaṁ.
gayaṇaṭṭhiyo vi cando āsāsai kumuyasaṇḍāiṁ.

(Trans.: Distance is not considered to be a hindrance to the union of hearts already inclined to each other. The moon which is far above in the sky gives hopes to the lilies) and Vajjā. 80

kaṭṭo·uggamaï ravi katto viasanti paṅkayavalāiṁ
suyaṇāṇa jattho ṇeho na calaï duraṭṭhiāṇaṁpi.

(Trans.: Whence rises the sun and where do the lotuses bloom? The love of the good can never abate though they live separately in the distance.) All of them can be fairly compared with Hem. IV. 422. 7

kahiṁ sasaharu kahiṁ mayaraharu kahiṁ varihiṇu kahiṁ mehu.
duraṭṭhiāhă vi sajjanāhă hoi asaḍḍhalu ṇehu.

(Trans.: What a great distance there is between the moon and the ocean and between the peacock and the cloud? There is uncommon friendship of the good persons however distanced they may stand) and also Hem. IV. 332. 1

agalia ṇeha-nivaṭṭāhaṁ joaṇa lakkhu vi jāu.
varisa-saeṇa vi jo milaï sahi sokkhahă so ṭhāu.

(Trans.: Let there be (a distance of) a lac of yojanas between those that exist separated but do not lose their affection (अगलित स्नेह) for, O friend, he is the source (store) of joy who meets with unchanged affection once in hundred years.)

Some of the stanzas of the *Vajjālaggā* are similar in nature with a few of Hemacandra though it is not possible to show that such similarity is due to the influence of the former upon the latter. Some of these are being quoted below. Thus, Vajjā. 192

mā sumarasu candaṇa-pallavāṇa kariṇāha geṇha tiṇakavalaṁ.
jaṁ jaha pariṇamaï dasā taṁ taha dhirā paḍicchanti.

(Trans.: O lord of elephants! do not think of the twigs of the sandal tree but take morsels of grass. The wise face bravely whatever circumstances surround them) can be compared with Hem. IV. 387. 1

kuñjara sumari sa sallaiu sarala sāsa ma melli.
kavala ji pāvia vihivasiṇa te cari māṇu ma melli.

(Trans.: O elephant, do not think of the सल्लकी plants: do not breathe heavy (long) sighs; eat only those morsels which luck brings you, do not give up your self-respect.) Also Vajjā. 295

kassa na bhindaï hiaaṁ anaṅga-saro dhoraṇivva nivaḍanti.
vālāe valiya-loyaṇa-phuranta-mayāla sā diṭṭhī.

(Trans.: Whose heart is not pierced by the radiant and intoxicated glances of the dancing eye of the girl, which fall like a stream of arrows of cupid) with Hem. IV. 330. 3

viṭṭhie mai bhaṇiya tuhŭ mā karu vaṅkī diṭṭhī
putti sakaṇṇī bhalli jivă māraī hiaï paiṭṭhī.

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(Trans.: O maiden I told you: do not send side glances (वक्र दृष्टिः) for (these glances) entering into the heart (of others) kill them as a spear with a sharp and curved edge does) and Vajjā. 351

aggāhi mahuṁ de geṇha candanaṁ suṇasu maha vayaṇaṁ.
māṇeṇa mā naḍijjasu māṇaṁsiṇi galaī chaṇarāī.

(Trans.: Inhale the scent of the मधुक flower, take sandal paste; O unhearing lady! please hear my words. O broad-hearted one, do not feign anger, the short night is quickly passing) with Hem. IV. 330. 2

ḍhollā mai tuhuṁ vāriā mā karu dīhā māṇu.
niddae gamihī rattaḍī daḍavaḍa hoi vihāṇu.

(Trans.: Man (friend), I warned you not to be proud (not to hold out) for long; for the night would pass away in sleep and it will dawn quickly.) It is easy to understand that both these verses correspond to Hāla V. 66, which we have quoted above. Again Vajjā. 235 which reads

pakkhukkhevaṁ nahasūikhaṇḍaṇaṁ bhamarabhara-samuvvahanaṁ.
ua sahaī tharaharantī vi dubbalā mālaī cceva.

(Trans.: The weak creeper Mālatī bears though trembling the shaking of wings (by birds) the cutting (of its leaves and flowers) by the blade of nails and also the pressure of weight of the bees) has an affinity with the following verse of Hemacandra, so far as the manner of expression is concerned. But there is so much difference between them that in the verse of the *Vajjālaggā* the statement has been made with regard to the creeper Mālatī, but in Hemacandra to the plant Mañjiṣṭhā. The verse of Hem. IV. 438. 2 occurs as

desuccāḍaṇu sihikaḍhaṇu ghaṇakuṭṭaṇu jaṁ loi.
mañjiṭṭhae aïrattae sabbu sahevvaū hoi.

(Trans.: The Mañjiṣṭhā plant which is excessively red (very much in love) must bear all this in the world, such as being uprooted from the field, being boiled over fire and being crushed by hammer). Further the verse 483, which occurs in the section Asaivajjā as

re re viḍhappa mā muyasu dujjaṇam gilasu puṇṇimāyandaṁ.
amayamayaṁ bhūñjanto hayāsa dīhāuo hosī.

(Trans.: O Rāhu, do not leave the wicked, but devour up the moon; O wretched! having eaten the moon—a repository of nectar—you will have a long life) seems to have a faint echo in the verse, Hem. IV. 396. 1

jaṁ diṭṭhaü soma-ggahaṇu asaïhi hasiü nisaṅku.
pia-māṇusa-vicchohagaru gila gila rāhu mayaṅku.

(Trans.: When the unchaste women saw the eclipse of the moon, they laughed fearlessly (and said), O Rāhu, do do swallow the moon that agitates the beloved person.) It is to be noted here that in both these verses there is reference to the conduct of the unchaste women.

We have quoted a good number of verses from the *Vajjālaggā* and it is quite manifest that its verses show a close connection with the stanzas of Hemacandra, which cannot be denied at any cost. It seems to be deeper than that which exists between the latter and the stanzas of the *Sattasaī*.

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In Appendix C of the *Prākṛta-Lakṣaṇa* of Caṇḍa, edited by Hoernle, the following verse occurs under sūtra I. 11[a] at page 36

kamalaiṁ mallavi aliulaiṁ karigaṁḍāiṁ mahanti
asulaham ettha ṇa jāhaṁ bhali te ṇavi dūra gaṇaṁti.

(Trans.: The bees after having left the lotuses pine for the temples of the elephants: those who rush for obtaining the things which are difficult to get, do not consider the distance.) It appears in Hem. IV. 353. 1 as

kamalaṁ mellavi aliulāiṁ kari gaṇḍāṁ mahanti.
asulahamecchaṇa jāhā bhali te ṇa vi dūra gaṇanti.

(Trans.: Swarms of bees leave the lotuses and desire to go to the temples of elephants: those that insist on (aim at) getting what is difficult, do not mind the distance.) Again in Appendix CD of the same the following verse occurs under sūtra II. 29[a] at page 47

ḍhollā maṁ tuhuṁ vāriā mā karu dīhā māṇu.
ddae gamihī rattaḍī daḍavaḍa hoi vihāṇu.

(Trans.: Man (friend), I warned you not to be proud (not to hold out) for long; for the night would pass away in sleep, and it will dawn quickly.)

It occurs in Hemacandra, as mentioned above, with the number IV. 330. 2 and shows very little variation from the same. The only difference, worth noticing, is that Hemacandra reads *vāriyā*, while *vāriā*, i.e. the form without ya-śruti, occurs in the text of Hoernle. Now, the question is whether Caṇḍa's grammar can be considered the source from which Hemacandra borrowed the afore-mentioned stanzas.

Now, the problem involves some difficulties. The matter would have been very easily settled by determining the respective dates of Caṇḍa and Hemacandra had the referred verses been found in the assumed original text of Caṇḍa, which is based on the AB MSS., and not in the Appendices C and CD, which are considered to be later accretions by the revisionists. So the dates of the revisionists, who put forward the C and CD recensions, are to be first determined for coming to a decisive conclusion regarding the question of Hemacandra's borrowing from Caṇḍa. Though the latter flourished in the beginning of the present century[1] and was chronologically much distanced from Hemacandra, here it should be noted the revisionists were earlier than Hemacandra and all their additions barring only the contents of the MS. D together with its peculiar sūtras II. 1[a] 1[b] and 1[c] were embodied into the text—the *Prākṛta-Lakṣaṇa*—before the appearance of Hemacandra. Hoernle has stated this unequivocally in the following words: 'I think it, therefore, more probable that the text of C and D, so far at least as it is common to both, is older than Hemacandra. On the other hand, it can be demonstrated that the text of MS. D, with its peculiar additions of sūtras II. 1[a] 1[b] and 1[c], is later than Hemacandra' (Introduction—*Prākṛta-Lakṣaṇa*, p. xxiii). Now as the verses, which we have quoted above, do not come under these few sūtras or any other sūtra exclusively of the D MS. we must accept that the revisionists, who introduced them, preceded Hemacandra.

[1] The following observation of Hoernle is to be noted: 'That he must have lived in very early times probably not later than the beginning of our era, would appear from the archaic character of the language which he describes, assuming, of course, that he was contemporary with that language'. Introduction—*Prākṛta-Lakṣaṇa*.

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Now, Pischel informs us that Thomas Bloch, who writes a treatise on Vararuci and Hemacandra, does not accept such a proposition and maintains the contrary view. According to him the text of the MS. C is later than Hemacandra and the same is a superficially and badly arranged collection of extracts from various sources, specially from the work of the latter. But Pischel does not contribute to this view of Bloch. He maintains on the contrary that the text of the recension C is earlier than Hemacandra. Now as the recension CD represents the text, which is common to both the MSS. C and D, it too becomes earlier than Hemacandra. Thus, according to Pischel, both the recensions C and CD, which are later accretions and contain the above-quoted verses in common with Hemacandra, preceded the grammar of the latter (Grammatik, Sec. 34, p. 36). So he has categorically stated that Hemacandra knew the grammar of Caṇḍa, which he has probably utilised for preparing his own work.[1]

Again, there is direct evidence that Hemacandra has referred to Caṇḍa in his Prākrit grammar. In sūtra 3.81 he says: *idaṁtador āmāpi se ādeśaṁ kaścid icchati*, i.e. some grammarian likes to put *se* as the form of the gen. plur. of the stems *idam* and *tad*, though *siṁ* is the usual form expected in such cases. Now, Caṇḍa has explicitly sanctioned such use in his grammar, which has been done by none else. Obviously this *kaścid* of Hemacandra refers to Caṇḍa, though there is no specific mention of his name (Grammatik, Sec. 34). If it be an admittable fact that Hemacandra knew Caṇḍa and borrowed some of his sūtras from the latter, which he rearranged according to his own suitability, it is possible for us to assume that Hemacandra borrowed the verses, which are common to both the Pkt. grammars, from Caṇḍa, who introduced them in his work from some unknown source. It is supported by the fact that the text of the verse I. 11^a in Caṇḍa's grammar is excessively corrupt and the commentary which the MS. C supplies '*asulahaṃ atra na yeṣāṁ bhallete nāpi dūraṁ gaṇayaṁti+asulahaṁ asulabhaṁ dullabhaṁ vā kadā graho bhavati. C bhali haṭhātkāreṇa*' (p. 36) does not give any satisfactory explanation of some difficult expressions. Had this verse been quoted by the revisionist of the C MS. from Hemacandra we would have certainly expected a more correct form of the text, since Hemacandra's version does not involve any difficulty in interpretation.

The sources of some five verses of Hemacandra have been traced in the Apabhraṁśa stanzas of Rāmasiṁha's *Pāhuḍadohā*, which is believed to be earlier than the Pkt. grammar. Prof. H. Jain, the editor of the text, has advanced arguments to prove Hemacandra's indebtedness to Rāmasiṁha, but Prof. Ludwig Alsdorf contradicts him. He thinks, on the contrary, the verses of Hemacandra to be original and those of Rāmasiṁha to be

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[1] Pischel has shown where the sūtras of Hemacandra fairly correspond to those of Caṇḍa (as represented by the C text). We quote some of them here.

C. 1. 1 = Hc. 1. 1.
C. 1. 11^a (p. 36) = Hc. 4. 353.
C. 2. 1^c (p. 37) = Hc. 1. 36.
C. 3. 11^a (p. 48) = Hc. 4. 325.
C. 3. 34 (p. 51) = Hc. 1. 177.
C. 1. 17 = Hc. 3. 81.
C. 2. 12^a (p. 44) = Hc. 3. 137.

Pischel expresses his conclusion in the words: 'Ausser C ist aber kein Grammatiker bekannt, der die Gleiche Regel hat, so dass die grösste Wahrscheinkeit vorliegt, dass Wo C und Hc. zusammentreffen, nicht C der Entlehner ist, sondern Hc' (Gk., Sec. 34, p. 36). (Trans.: Except C no grammarian is known who has got the same rule; hence is the greatest possibility that where there are coincidences between C and Hem., C is not the borrower but Hem.) Again in the Gk., Sec. 35, Pischel states: 'Dass Hc. voraussichtlich caṇḍa gekannt hat, ist Sec. 34 bemerkt worden'. (Trans.: That Hem. presumably knew Caṇḍa has been observed in Sec. 34).

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adaptations—in his own words 'umgedichteter form'. Before we enter into the controversy we quote the verses of both side by side, and see how far they tally and to whom the credit of being original can be given without the least hesitation. *Pāhuḍadohā* 88 occurs as

sayalu vi kovi taḍapphaḍaï siddhattaṇahu taṇeṇa
siddhattaṇu paripāviyaï cittahaṁ nimmalayeṇa.

(Trans.: All strive for success (सिद्धत्व i.e. the attainment of the highest spiritual goal) but it can be attained only by the purity of the soul.) The same appears in Hem. IV. 366. 1 as

sāhu vi lou taḍapphaḍaï vaḍḍhattaṇaho taṇeṇa
vaḍḍhappaṇu paripāviaï hatthiṁ mokkalaḍeṇa.

(Trans.: The whole world is striving for greatness, but greatness is obtained only by hand that is freely distributing charities.) *Pāhuḍadohā* 151 of which the text is

chaṁḍeviṇu guṇa rayaṇaṇihi agghathaḍihiṁ ghippanti
[illegible]hiṁ saṁkhahaṁ vihāṇu para phukkijjanti na bhanti.

(Trans.: Much of a commodity that comes for sale after leaving an ocean of virtue is lost; (look to) the fate of the conch, which is blown off and there is no doubt about it) corresponds to Hem. IV. 422. 3

je chaḍḍeviṇu rayaṇa ṇihi appaï taḍi ghallanti
taha saṁkhaha viṭṭālu paru phukkijjanta bhamanti.

(Trans.: (I think with abhorrence) the contact with conches that cast away themselves on the shore after having abandoned the store of gems—the ocean; they wander being blown off by others). Again, *Pāhuḍadohā* 169

akhaï nirāmaï paramagaï ajjavi lau ṇa lahaṁti.
bhaggī maṇahaṁ ṇa bhantaḍī tima divahaḍā gaṇaṁti.

(Trans.: The doubt of the mind is not dispersed until it is merged in the highest place which is imperishable and free from danger, so it counts the days) finds expression in Hem. IV. 414. 2 as

prāiva muṇihă vi bhantaḍī teṁ maṇiaḍā gaṇanti.
akhaï nirāmaï paramapaï ajjavi lau na lahaṁti.

(Trans.: Probably even the sages are wrong: they simply count the beads; they do not become merged in that highest place, which is free from danger and is imperishable [1]). *Pāhuḍadohā* 177 which reads

jaï ikkahi pāvisi paya aṁkaya koḍi karĭsu
naṁ aṁguli paya payaḍaṇaiṁ jima savvaṁgaya sīsu.

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[1] The second half of the first line has been wrongly interpreted by Pischel. According to him the translation of the first line is 'Gewöhnlich gerathen selbst muṇis in irrthum (verblendung), so dass sie klein dien hochschätzen'. Hem.'s Gr., ed. Pischel, Vol. II, p. 212. (Trans.: Usually the muṇis fall into error (delusion), so that they regard the jewels as precious things). Hence Alsdorf states: maṇiadā gaṇanti heisst nicht 'sie schätzen kleinodien hoch' sondern 'sie zählen die perlen (des Rosenkrazes)' d. h. sie plappern nur mechanisch Gebete und erschöpfen sich in Ausserlichkeiten. Ap. Studien, p. 86. (Trans.: maṇiadā gaṇanti does not mean 'they do not consider the jewels as precious things' but they count the pearls (of rosary), i.e. they utter the prayers only mechanically and exhaust themselves in performing formal observances).

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(Trans.: If I get (proceed) a single step, I shall make a novel fun. If the fingers and the feet be exposed, then the entire body will be naked) is represented in Hem. IV. 396. 4 as

jaï kevaï pāvīsu piu akiā kuḍḍa karīsu
pāṇiu navai sarāvi jiva savvaṅgeṁ paisīsu.

(Trans.: If somehow I meet my lover I shall do something wonderful never done before; I shall enter into him with all my body as water pervades the new earthen jar[1].) Lastly '*jima loṇu vilijjai pāṇiyahaṁ*' a portion of the entire dohā

jima loṇu vilijjaï pāṇiyahaṁ tima jaï cittu vilijja
samarasa huvaï jīvaḍā kahiṁ samāhi karijja.

(Trans.: If the mind dissolves, as salt does into the water, then the being becomes indifferent (समरस). Then what necessity has one of meditation?) occurs exactly in Hem. IV. 418. 5 which reads

loṇu vilijjaï pāṇieṇa ari khala meha ma gajju
vāliu galaï su jhumpaḍā gori timmaï ajju.

(Trans.: Salt (beauty) is melted by water; O wicked cloud, do not thunder; for the hut, which is burnt, would dripple and the fair lady inside may get wet today.)

Prof. H. Jain believes that Hemacandra borrowed these stanzas from the *Pāhuḍadohā*, which is a religious work full of mystic ideas. He reshuffled and put them to use in such a manner that they could be easily understood without any knowledge of philosophy and the technical mysticism.[2] Basing on this assumption that those four verses of Hemacandra are taken from the *Pāhuḍadohā* he tries to determine the approximate date of the latter. Thus he asserts:—'That four verses of this work occur in Hemacandra points to the fact that it was composed before Hemacandra. There is no doubt about the date of the latter. Hemacandra has himself admitted at the end of his grammar that he composed it in honour of the king Siddharāja of the Caulukya dynasty of Gujarāta. Siddharāja ascended to the throne of Gujarāta in A.D. 1090 and ruled his kingdom till A.D. 1143. In A.D. 1143 his successor Kumārapāla occupied his throne. So it is established that the grammar of Hemacandra was composed sometime between A.D. 1093 to 1143. Further it is proved that the present work was composed before A.D. 1100.[3]' A difficulty suddenly confronts

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[1] The second half of the first line has been wrongly interpreted by Pischel. The first line has been translated by him thus: 'Wenn ich auf irgend eine weise den geliebten erlangen werde, sollte ich dann mein Verlangen nicht stillen?' Hem.'s Gr., ed. Pischel, Vol. II, p. 206. (Trans.: If I get my beloved somehow should I not satisfy my desire?) Alsdorf translates it: 'Wenn ich irgendwie den Geliebten bekommen werde, dann werde ich eine unerhörte (akṛta possibly = apūrva) Seltsamkeit begehen'. Ap. Studien, p. 83. (Trans.: If I somehow get my beloved then I would do an unheard (akṛta = apūrva) oddity (i.e. a very peculiar fun). The same interpretation is suggested by P. L. Vaidya.

[2] Introduction to the *Pahūḍadohā*, p. 23.

[3] 'Isi prakāra Hemacandrācāyyaneṁ isa granthake cāre dohe pāye jāne se siddha hotā hai ki yaha grantha uktā ācāryyake pūrva vanā cukā thā. Hemacandrake samayake saṁvandhameṁ kōi śaṅkā nahī hai. Unhone apane vyākaraṇake antameṁ svayaṁ kahā hai. Ki vaha grantha unhomne Gujarātake rājasiṁhāsana para sana 1090 isvimeṁ vaiṭhe, aur unhomne san 1143 tak rājya kiyā. 1143 meṁ unhomne uttarādhikārī kumārapāla siṁhāsana par āye. Ataḥ siddha hai ki Hemacandrakā vyākaran san 1093 aur 1147 ke vīcmeṁ vanā haiṁ. Isse prastuta grantha 1100 se pūrvakā vanā huā siddha hotā hai'. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

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us here, which cannot be overlooked. It is expected that the verses should give a clear and unambiguous meaning when they are preserved in their original forms and are not distorted by emendations and scribal interpolations. But a little reflection shows that the dohās 151 and 169 of Rāmasiṁha do not seem to yield a meaning more satisfactory than that offered by their representatives in Hemacandra. Besides the stanza 117 of the *Pāhuḍadohā* is so shrouded in obscurity that any suitable meaning cannot be exacted from it in spite of our best efforts. But the corresponding verse of Hemacandra does not present us any such difficulty in grasping a comprehensible sense. Even Prof. Jain realised it; so he had to admit the defects. Possibly these defects seemed to be too gross and unconnivable to Prof. Alsdorf, who denied the text the credit of being the original version of those stanzas. So he argued:—'Quite similar examples, which show a recast after the Jain religion and which were originally of a purely secular nature, occur in the *Pāhuḍadohā* of Rāmasiṁha (ed. H. Jain, Karañja Jaina Series III). There occur four stanzas rather parts of stanzas which have been maintained in their original forms by Hemacandra (and cited for contrast by Jain, 22f.) . . . . . Even with regard to the other stanzas there cannot be any such assumption that Hemacandra quoted them from Rāmasiṁha, as Prof. Jain thought. Rather the verses which we find in Hemacandra are original and the version of Rāmasiṁha is a re-modelled one. So the conclusions based upon this chronology, as Jain has drawn from the assumed borrowing of the stanzas from the text of Rāmasiṁha by Hemacandra, are obviously untenable.'[1]

It is not possible to come to any definite conclusion from the foregoing facts which are too scanty. The original might have been some ancient text from which both Rāmasiṁha and Hemacandra quoted the stanzas. The text might have been also in some earlier Pkt. dialect, which was extant before the appearance of Apabhraṁśa as a literary speech. As we cannot advance arguments in support of our statement it remains yet a suggestion which is to be supported by conclusive evidences. But, as regards the date of the *Pāhuḍadohā* we believe that it is probably earlier than the Pkt. grammar of Hemacandra. Even if we set aside the arguments of Prof. Jain, the very language of the text, its archaic nature points to its priority to the latter.

The next work, to which we look for tracing the sources of the Ap. stanzas, is the *Paramātma-prakāśa* of Yogīndradeva. Of the verses of Hemacandra three full and the fragment of one are found to have occurred in this work with minor differences. Here too has raged a dispute over the actual authorship of the stanzas and their borrowings by others. It is to be noted that the complete form of the verse, of which the mere fragment is thus supplied by Hemacandra, is found in the *Paramātma-prakāśa*, where it gives a clear and consistent meaning leaving no room whatsoever for ambiguity. Here it should be clearly stated that the language of this verse, as occurring in the *Paramātma-prakāśa*, is not Ap. but the Māhārāṣṭrī-Pkt. with the Jaina characteristic of ya-śruti. It is, as we believe,

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[1] 'Ganz ähnliche Beispiele religios-jinistischer umdichtungen ursprünglich rein weltlicher strophen finden sich in Rāmasiṁha's *Pāhuḍadohās* (ed. H. Jain, Karanja Jain Series III). Dort kommen vier Strophen bzw. Strophenteile vor, die von Hem. in ihrer ursprünglichen Gestalt zitiert werden (zusammengestellt von Jain S. 22f.) . . . . . Auch bei den anderen Strophen kann keine Rede davon sein, dass Hem. sie—wie Jain meint—von Rām. zitiert hätte; vielmehr lesen wir sie bei Hem. in ursprunglicher, bei Rām. in umgedichteter Form. Damit werden auch die chronologischen Folgerungen, die Jain aus der angeblichen Zitierung von Strophen Rām.'s durch Hem. ableitet hinfällig'. Apabhraṁśa Studien, p. 64.

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a quotation adapted by the author of the *Paramātma-prakāśa* from some extraneous source. Otherwise its language too would have been the same as of the other verses of the *Paramātma-prakāśa*, i.e. Ap. Prof. A. N. Upadhye too admits that it is composed in some non-Apabhraṁśa dialect (Joindu and his Ap. works. ABORI, Vol. II, p. 139). Here it is considered along with other Apabhraṁśa stanzas of the *Paramātma-prakāśa*, as it has some importance like others in settling the actual authorship of the stanzas, which are common both to the prākrit grammar of Hemacandra and the philosophical treatise of Yogīndradeva.

The verse 270 of Yogīndradeva reads:

saṁtā visaya ju pariharaï vali kijjaü haŭ tāsh.
so daiveṇa ju muṇḍiau sīsu khaḍillaü jāsu.

(Trans.: I offer homage to him who renounces the worldly objects that he possesses. He is indeed shaved by fate who has a bald head.) The same appears in Hem. IV. 389. 1 as

santā bhogā ju pariharaï tasu kantaho vali kīsu.
tasu daiveṇa vi muṇḍiyaü jasu khallihaḍau sīsu.

(Trans.: I offer my homage to that lover who rejects enjoyments offered; (for) he who has a bald head, is already shaved by fate.) Again the verse 271 of Yogīndradeva, which we find as

Paṁcahu nāyaku vasi karahu jena hoṁti vasu aṇṇa
mula vinaṭṭhaï taruvaraha avasaï sukkhahĭ paṇṇa.

(Trans.: Control the five agents, to whom the rest are subordinate. When the root of the tree is destroyed, the leaves must be dried up) appears in Hem. IV. 427. 1 as

jiviṁdiu nāyaku vasi karahu jasu adhiṇṇaï aṇṇaiṁ
muli viṇaṭṭhaï tuṁviṇihe avaseṁ sukkhahi paṇṇaiṁ.

(Trans.: Keep under control the sense organ called tongue which is the head and under which all other live; when the root of तुंविनी (gourd-creeper) is completely killed, the leaves will certainly dry up.) The verse II. 147 of the *Paramātma-prakāśa* reads

vali kiu māṇusa-jammaḍā dekkhataha para sāru
jaha uṭṭhṭhabbhaï to kuhaï aha ḍajjhaï to chāru.

(Trans.: I pay homage to the human birth, which is the best of all, to which the creatures with the sense of sight are subject. If the human body be buried it stinks, if it be burnt it is reduced to ashes.) The same appears in Hem. IV. 365. 1 as

āyaho daḍḍha kalevaraho jaṁ vāhiu taṁ sāru.
jai uṭṭhabbhaï to kuhaï ahu ḍajjhaï to chāru.

(Trans.: Whatever is obtained of this wretched body is best; if it is covered it stinks, if it is burnt it turns into ashes[1].) The fragment, to

[1] Alsdorf gives a different interpretation of the second line: 'Wenn man ihn liegen lässt (also: ihn nicht bestattet!) verwest er, verbrennt man ihn aber, so wird er zu Asche. Ap. Studien, p. 73. (Trans.: If it be allowed to remain as it is (i.e. be not disposed of) it rots and if it be burnt it is reduced to ashes.)

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which reference has been made above, is '*vodraha-drahammi paḍiā*', which occurs under sūtra II. 80 of Hemacandra's Pkt. grammar. The complete verse of the *Paramātma-prakāśa* is

te ciya dhaṇṇā te cciya sappurisā te jiyaṁtu jiyaloe
vodraha-drahammi paḍiyā taraṁti je ceva līlāe.

(Trans.: They are fortunate indeed, they are noble surely and let them alone thrive in this mortal world as they having fallen in the lake of youth come out easily.)

A. N. Upadhye believes that Hemacandra borrowed these stanzas directly from the *Paramātma-prakāśa* of Yogīndradeva. His chief argument is this that while writing a grammar of the Pkt. dialects Hemacandra must have consulted works, then available, for showing examples of his rules. Bound for the task sometimes he might have improved upon the readings of the texts, from which he quoted such illustrative examples and in which he made changes here and there, as he had to make the words suit the rules he framed in his grammar. Besides, the occurrence of IV. 389. 1 and IV. 427. 1 of Hemacandra as consecutive verses with the numbers 270 and 271 respectively in the *Paramātma-prakāśa* highly speaks of the stanzas being original in the latter and adaptations in the former. Assuming such borrowing of the stanzas by Hemacandra from the *Paramātma-prakāśa* as an incontrovertible fact Upadhye fixes the date of Yogīndradeva from the date of Hemacandra, whose times are more or less fixed on account of the latter's close connection with some Caulukya kings of Anhilwāḍ. As we have discussed later about Hemacandra in some details we refrain from doing the same here. However, here we quote an extract from Upadhye to show that he had no doubt whatsoever in admitting the chronological priority of Joindu to Hemacandra. 'From the facts noted above it is plain that Hemacandra has used *Paramātma-prakāśa* for his grammar of the Apabhraṁśa dialect and that Joindu must have lived at least a couple of centuries before Hema's composition of his grammar looking to the conditions of communications and of that period' (Joindu and his Ap. works. ABORI, Vol. II, p. 132ff.). He maintains the same view in the introduction of his edition of the *Paramātma-prakāśa*. 'This means that Joindu can be put earlier than Hemacandra at least by a couple of centuries' (Introduction, ed. p. 64). L. B. Gandhi, the editor of the *Apabhraṁśa-kāvyatrayī* (Gaekwad Oriental Series), also lends his support to the view of Prof. Upadhye, as he has observed in his introduction.

'*Uḍāharadidaṁ padyaṁ pāṭhāntareṇa Hemacandrācāryyaḥ saṁtā bhogā*' etc. and '*Kiñcit paṭhāntareṇa prādarśayadidaṁ padyam Hemacandrācāryyaḥ jibbhindiu*' etc. (p. 103). Prof. Ludwig Alsdorf contradicts the view of Prof. Upadhye too as he did that of Jain. In his observations on the stanza IV. 389. 1 of Hemacandra he says: 'This stanza too appears as No. 170 in the *Paramātma-prakāśa* of Yogīndradeva. As with reference to IV. 427. 1, here too there cannot be any doubt that we find it in a recast form in the text of Yogīndradeva'[1]. Though the statement of Prof. Alsdorf gives us a sudden check to jumping to a hasty conclusion, we feel convinced that the *Paramātma-prakāśa* is the source from which Hemacandra borrowed the stanzas. The latter could not neglect, on the contrary he fully utilised the rich and extensive Ap. literature, which developed

[1] 'Auch diese Strophe steht (als Nr. 170) in Yogīndradeva's Paramātmaprakāśa. . . . . Eben so wie bei 427. 1. (oben S. 53) kann es hier nicht zweifelhaft sein, dass wir es mit einer umdichtung Y. s. zu tun haben'. Apabhraṁśa Studien, p. 64.

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long before him. Besides, it should also be taken into consideration that those stanzas, which the Pkt. grammar of Hemacandra has in common with the *Paramātma-prakāśa*, aptly suit in context in the latter and give a satisfactory meaning. Hence we agree completely with Prof. Upadhye.

Two verses of Hemacandra are found to have occurred in the Sanskrit rhetorical work the *Sarasvatī-Kaṇṭhābharaṇa*, which contains a collection of heterogeneous verses and as such cannot be in any case accepted as the source of the former. Of these two one is quoted verbatim and the other shows some remarkable changes possibly due to the errors of the scribe, who being interested more in the science of rhetorics took little interest in the stanza composed in a 'corrupt' non-sanskritic speech. It stands as

ekkahiṁ akkihiṁ sāvaṇu aṇṇahiṁ bhaddavaï
māhau mahiala-satthari gaṇḍatthale saraï
aṅgihiṁ gimha suhacchi tilavaṇi maggasiru
tahe muddhahe muha paṅkai āvāsiu sisiru.

Sar. II. 76. Kāvyamālā. Hem. IV. 357. 2.

(Trans.: The month of Śrāvaṇa has settled in one eye of the fair lady, while the month of Bhādrapada in another; on her couch the spring (as the bed was made of tender leaves); on her cheeks the autumn; on her limbs the summer; and in the field of sesamum of sukhāsikā (sitting at ease) Mārgaśīrṣa, the winter on her lotus-like face.) The other, which appears in the *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhā-bharaṇa* III. 62, as

sā uppaḍī goṭṭhaḍahi ṇokkhī kāvi visagaṇṭhī
bhiḍiya pacelliu so maraï jjassa ṇa laggaï kaṇṭhi.

(Trans.: In the locality of the cowherds she has been a fresh विषग्रन्थि, he dies on the contrary, to whom she does not cling) is represented in Hem. IV. 420. 3, as

sāva-saloni goraḍī nabakhī ka vi visagaṇṭhi
bhaḍu pacceliu so maraï jāsu ṇa laggaï kaṇṭhī.

(Trans.: The fair maid is all beautiful like fresh viṣagranthi (a poisonous bulb called vacanāga); the youngman (bhaṭa), however, would die if she does not embrace him.)

It is quite evident that the verse of Hemacandra is undoubtedly more clear than that of Bhojadeva, the author of the *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*. The version of the latter is cumbrous and the word *bhiḍiya* which is rendered into Sanskrit as *bhidyate* does not fit in well with the construction of the verse. The annotator cleverly avoids the word as he says '*atrāyaṁ visagranthiryasya kaṇṭhe na lagati sa mriyate ityetayoḥ parasparamasaṅgaterayamasaṅgatirnāma virodhaḥ| ṇokkhī apūrvā| kāvi visagaṇṭhi kāpi viṣagranthiḥ| romāñcādayaḥ striyām iti strīliṅgatā|pacelliu pratyūta|viṣagranthēḥ kaṇṭhasaṁbandhena mārakatvaṁ pratītam| varṇyamānāḥ rūpasya tathābhūtayaiveti vyaktaḥ virodhaḥ*' (p. 341, Kāvyamālā edition). A little reflection shows that *bhaḍu* of Hemacandra, which stands for Skt. *bhaṭaḥ*, gives a better meaning and the ignorance of the scribe is probably responsible for the embodying of a meaningless word like *bhiḍiya* and other mistakes in the *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*. It should be incidentally mentioned that the rhetoricians and also their scribes in their endeavours to give expositions of their theories cared more for the Skt. text and neglected the accurate reading of the Pkt. and Ap. stanzas, which they quoted in their works. The fact that the grammar of Hemacandra supplies

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the better text, while the reverse condition obtains in the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*, should not necessarily lead one to believe that Hemacandra originally composed those two stanzas and Bhojadeva borrowed from him. There is no scope for such an assumption here as Bhojadeva is earlier than Hemacandra, who quotes the former sometimes in his *Kāvyānuśāsana*. As regards the date of Bhojadeva, we can accept the statement of Prof. S. K. De, who says: 'But all this will justify us in fixing Bhoja's date with great possibility between A.D. 1010 and 1050, i.e. roughly covering a part of the first and the whole of the second quarter of the eleventh century, and he may have lived into the third quarter of the same century' (Hist. of Sanskrit Poetics, Vol. I, p. 147). So the conclusion, which we can safely make, is that both Bhojadeva and Hemacandra borrowed the stanzas from some unknown source and as Hemacandra was himself a Jain and scholar interested in Pkt. he tried his best to maintain the correct readings in his text.

In the Textus Simplicior of the *Śukasaptati* edited by R. Schmidt occurs a stanza (p. 160), which reads

jaï sasinehī taü maī jaï jīvaï sasiṇeha
duhia parāahiṁ gaa dhara kiṁ gacchasi khala geha.

The text here is highly corrupt and without reconstructing it with the help of MSS. it is not possible for one to bring out any suitable meaning from it. However, we suggest a translation with very slight modifications of the text. We read the stanza as

jaï sasiṇehī taü maī jaï jīvaï asiṇeha
duhi a paārahiṁ gaa dhara kiṁ gacchasi khala jeha.

(Trans.: If she has still love for me she is dead, if she survives she has lost her love for me. In both the cases the beloved disappears from the world (i.e. in any case she does not exist), O wicked, do you go back to your home [1]).

We have read *a* for *sa* in *sasiṇeha* as such a confusion between *sa* and *a* is a quite common phenomenon in some Indian scripts and have found metathesis in *parāahiṁ*, which should be emended as *paārahiṁ* by proper adjustment of syllables. A better version of this stanza is given by Hemacandra IV. 367. 4, which reads

jaï sasiṇehī to muia aha jīvaï niṇṇeha
viḥim vi payārehiṁ gaïa dhaṇa kim gajjahi khala meha.

(Trans.: If she loved me she must have been dead, if she is alive she does not love me: in either case that fair one is lost to me, why, O wicked cloud, are you thundering (in vain?)).

Richard Schmidt who has edited both the simple and ornate texts of the *Śukasaptati* and written dissertations upon them has nowhere discussed

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[1] The second line admits of another interpretation. We have interpreted above the expression *dhara* as Skt. *dharāyāḥ* 'from the world', but *dharā* means also support. So the line should be interpreted as: '*In both the ways the support is lost, O wicked! do you go back to your home*'. Comp. Hem. IV. 377. 1. *Maï jāṇiu piu virahiyahă ka vi dhara hoi viyāli.* Another interpretation too can be suggested. *Dhara* is a frivolous or dissolute man (viṭa), so *dharā* is a frivolous or dissolute woman, vide Monier Williams, Skt. Dictionary, p. 510. So the interpretation stands as: '*In both the ways the frivolous woman has disappeared . . . . . .*' I lay this interpretation open to the scholars for criticism.

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the problems of date and authorship of these tales. Nor any serious attempt has been made at any time by any competent scholar to settle those problems. So it is not possible to ascertain in the narrow scope of this chapter the date of the Textus Simplicior, which would have helped us certainly in deciding the question of indebtedness between Hemacandra and the author of the tales. According to Keith Nachsābi, who composed the *Tutīnāmeh* in A.D. 1329-30, was acquainted with the tales of the *Śukasaptati*, as he translated some of them into Persian. The same authority informs us that Hemacandra too probably knew some version of the stories of the *Śukasaptati* as one of the stories told by him very closely imitates a tale of the *Śukasaptati* (Keith, Hist. of Skt. Lit., p. 359). It is probable that some of the stories of the *Śukasaptati* are very old and their sources might be traced in ancient Buddhist texts, which were translated into Chinese. But it does not help us in any way to ascertain the date of the Textus Simplicior of the *Śukasaptati* or solve any of the problems connected with the latter. Hence it is not possible to decide whether Hemacandra had any knowledge of the stories, as they are presented by the Textus Simplicior of the *Śukasaptati*. If he knew it it is probable then that he procured the verse, which he has got in common with the book of tales, from the same source. But there are so many perplexing problems round the text of the same that any statement like this does not carry any weight whatsoever.

The *Kumārapāla-pratibodha* of Somaprabha possesses some Apabhraṁśa stanzas, which are common with those of Hemacandra. Alsdorf has collected in a separate chapter of his edition the stray stanzas (Einzelnstrophen), which, as he assumed, are borrowed by Somaprabha from different sources. We quote the verses below and here reference has been made to the Indian edition of the Gaekwad Oriental Series (Vol. XIV). In page 12 occurs the verse which reads

māṇi paṇaṭṭhaï jaï na taṇu | to desaḍā caijja
mā dujjaṇa-kara-pallavihĭ | daṁsijjantu bhamijja.

(Trans.: When your honour is lost you should abandon your country if not the body. Do not move in that country being pointed out by the fingers of wicked person.) It occurs exactly in Hem. IV. 418. 6. Again the verse at page 36 is

maĭ jāṇiu piya virahiyahă | ka vi dhara hoi viyāli
navari mayaṅku vi taha tabaï | jaha diṇayaru khayakāli.

(Trans.: My dear, I thought that there was some support (consolation, alleviation of pain) to separated lovers at sunset; but at the close of the day the moon torments me as much as the sun during the day). The verse occurs exactly in Hem. IV. 377. 1. There are slight variations of readings between the texts of the two, which are of orthographic nature and are negligible. A verse at page 108 is

cūḍau cunnī-hoisai | muddhi kavoli nihittu
sāsānaliṇa jhalakkiyau | vāha salila saṁsittu.

(Trans.: O beautiful lady! the bangle will be reduced to powder when placed upon your cheeks, as it will be heated by the fire of sighs and be sprinkled by tears.) It occurs in Hem. IV. 395. 2 as

cūḍullaü cunnīhoīsaï muḍhi kavoli nihittau
sāsānala jhalakkiau vāhasalila-saṁsittau.

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As regards meaning there is no difference between the two verses. At page 257 occurs the verse

amhe thoḍā riu bahuya | iu kāyara cintanti
muḍḍhi nihālahi gayaṇayalu | kai ujjou karanti?

(Trans.: We are few, the enemies are many, so think the cowards: O beautiful lady! look to the dome of the sky, how many glitter there?). It occurs with slight variations in Hem. IV. 376. 1

amhe thovā riu bahua kāara emva bhaṇanti
muddhi nihālahi gayaṇayalu kai jaṇa joṇha karanti.

(Trans.: We are few and the enemies numerous so say the timid ones: but, O fair one, behold the sky (and see), how many are there that give the moon light.)

In page 108 we find the stanza

maragaa vannaha piyaha uri | piya campayapaha deha.
kasavaṭṭai dinniya sahaï | nāi suvannaha reha.

(Trans.: On the breast of the emerald-coloured lover shines the beloved, who has the splendid colour of the Campaka—it is just like a streak of gold upon the touch-stone.) The same verse occurs, of course, in a different form in Hem. IV. 330. 1

ḍhollā sāmalā dhaṇa campāvaṇṇi
ṇāi suvaṇṇa-reha kasavaṭṭaï diṇṇī.

(Trans.: The man has a dark complexion and the fair one has the complexion of a Campaka flower; she seems to be a streak of gold on the black touch-stone.) [1]

Here the question is whether Somaprabha is indebted to Hemacandra or the contrary. Alsdorf believes that here the question of direct influence of one upon the other does not arise. Because the verses, which both quote in their works, were mostly popular poems of universal nature—the common literary properties of the times, which ran current from mouth to mouth and thereby maintained their existence.[2] As these folk poems,

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[1] Pischel translates the line: 'Du schelm, ein dunkeler, glückverheissender, gleichsam die farbe der campaka habender goldstrick ist auf die Flache des Probiersteins gezogen (aufgetragen, wortlich: gegeben) worden'. Hem.'s Gr., ed. Pischel, Vol. II, p. 179. (Trans.: Oh! you—wicked, black and fortunate, as it were a streak of gold having the colour of campaka has been drawn (traced, literally given) on the surface of the touch-stone). Needless to mention that it does not convey any sense. Pischel, as Alsdorf states, gives a slightly different interpretation in his Materialen zur Kenntniss der Apabhramśa. The translation there is: 'O freund, die braunliche Geliebte, die die Farbe der campakablüte hat, sieht aus wie ein Goldstrick, der auf die Fläche des Probiersteins aufgetragen ist'. Ap. Studien, p. 75. (Trans.: O friend! the brown-coloured darling, who has got the colour of the campaka, looks like a streak of gold upon the surface of the touch-stone). This interpretation though slightly different from the former is also wrong. The right interpretation has been suggested both by P. L. Vaidya and Alsdorf.

[2] The nature of the popular poems has been described by Alsdorf in the following words: 'Etwa 2/3 von ihnen sind Spruchpoesie: Epigramme, Gnomic, moralische Sprüche teils allgemeiner Art, teils speziell jinistischen Inhalts—literarishes Gemeingut der zeit, volksthümliche sprichwörter und sentenzen, die ohne Zusammenhang mit der Geschichte lediglich zur Verzierung der Erzählung und zum 'delight of he Sabhā' eingeflochten werden'. *Kumārapāla-pratibodha*, p. 47. (Trans.: Probablyt two-thirds of them are gnomic poems: epigrams, gnomic and moral maxims, some of general nature, some of specially jinistic attitude—the literary common properties of the times, the popular proverbs and sentences, which could have been interpolated without connection with the narrative purely for embellishment of the story and for 'the delight of the Sabhā').

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which were called *Sprüche* in German, were mostly gnomic and didactic in character, they were utilized by the poets under suitable contexts for embellishing their compositions and emphasizing certain facts and phenomena, that they wanted to hold in bold relief. So both Hemacandra and Somaprabha fell back upon these popular poems independent of each other[1] and the minor differences, which the texts of their poems evince, were due to variations, that were evidently to manifest themselves in circulation of the poems from one mouth to another. But this does not seem to have represented the whole truth. Firstly as popular poems show considerable differences in readings being mostly preserved in memory, they cannot maintain so much identity, as some of the verses, common to both, are seen to have retained. Such complete identity, it is sure, speaks for copying of the one from the other, as preserved in some written text and vouches for direct influence. Secondly as Somaprabha and Hemacandra were close to each other in point of time it is probable that there were contacts between them or at least the influence of one's work upon that of the other. It may be definitely known from the date and works of Somaprabha, who belonged to the same place where Hemacandra was born.

Somaprabha, as we come to learn from the excellent introduction of the *Kumārapāla-pratibodha*, edited by Muni-Jinayaji, was a Vaishya of Prāgvāta (Porvād) sect. His father's name was Sarvadeva and his grandfather was called Jinadeva. Jinadeva was the Prime Minister of some prince. Somaprabha had taken initiation into the Jaina faith quite early in his boyhood. He mastered all the sciences and attained the position of an Ācāryya. He was a contemporary of Hemacandra though younger than him by several years. He composed the *Kumārapāla-pratibodha* in Samvat 1241 (or A.D. 1184 though wrongly written 1195), which was 11 years after the death of King Kumārapāla and 12 years after the death of Hemacandra. He composed the *Satārtha Kāvya* between A.D. 1177 and 1179, as he referred in his work to Bāla Mūlarāja, who succeeded Ajayadeva, the successor of Kumārapāla to the throne of Aṇahilpāṭaka and reigned there for 2 years (A.D. 1177–1179). It clearly shows that Somaprabha was slightly younger than Hemacandra, who as the preceptor of King Kumārapāla earned fame and was already noted for his scholarship.

Somaprabha, as the learned editor of the *Kumārapāla-pratibodha* informs us, is the author of two more works—the *Sumatināthacaritra* and *Sūktimuktāvalī* besides the *Kumārapāla-pratibodha* and the *Śatārthakāvya*. The *Sūktimuktāvalī* is, otherwise, known as *Sinduraprabhākara*. Now Winternitz ascribes to Somaprabha the work *Śṛṅgāra-vairāgya-taraṅgiṇī*, a treatise on the unsubstantialness of sensual pleasures and feminine love, which he believes to have been composed at A.D. 1176 (Hist. of Indian

[1] Alsdorf's conclusion deserves notice. He says: 'Die strophen, die Som. und Hem. gemeinsam haben, stimmen Z. T. genau (Nr. 1) oder mit unwesentlichen Abweichungen (Nr. 2b) überein; bei den andern zeigen sich aber grössere, bei Nr. 5 sehr erhebliche Verschiedenheiten. Som. hat daher schwerlich seine strophen derselben literarischen Quelle entnommen, die man für Hem. vermutet hat (Vgl. p. § 29. z11–13), sondern falls er nicht einfach aus dem Gedachtnis zitiert, beweisen eben gerade seine Abweichungen, dass es sich um weitverbreitetes und daher in allen möglichen Varianten und formen umlaufenden Dichtungsgut handelt'. *Ibid.*, pp. 47-48. (Trans.: The stanzas, which Som. and Hem. have in common, in some cases agree completely (Nr. 1) or they maintain immaterial variations (Nr. 2b); but in other cases considerable differences are found; while in Nr. 5 such differences are very great. Consequently Som. has hardly borrowed the stanzas from the same literary source, which one has considered for the verses of Hem. (comp. Pischel's Sk., Sec. 29, lines 11–13), but in case he does not quote simply from his memory, his deviations show that he treats of the verses which were widespread and preserved in all possible forms and variations).

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Lit., Vol. II, page 349). It is interesting to note that Jinavijaya-ji does not ascribe the same to Somaprabha and the date stands in conflict with the date which we have suggested for the latter. In any case even if Winternitz gives the right date Somaprabha becomes further younger than Hemacandra, who with all his position and popularity appeared as an extraordinary person to him.

The influence of Hemacandra on Somaprabha seems to be definite. In his work the *Kumārapāla-pratibodha* he has given references to certain characters, among which Hemacandra occurs. Now, as he has spoken of him with a deep feeling of reverence, which was chiefly due to the latter's scholarship and unassailable position in the royal court, it may be assumed that Somaprabha was acquainted with the works and achievements of Hemacandra. The probability gets further support from the fact that as Hemacandra's Pkt. grammar was an appendix to his Dyāśrayakāvya, where the glorious activities of Kumārapāla have been described in bright colours, it might have been very popular among the people who were contemporaneous with him and were aspirants for royal patronage. Such a position unquestionably suggests Somaprabha's indebtedness to Hemacandra as regards those five Apabhramśa stanzas, which both of them have in common. The little differences, which the verses of Somaprabha maintain from those of Hemacandra, are probably due to the activities of the former, who wanted to attribute to them the appearance of independent origin.

In the *Saṁdeśa-rāsaka* of Abdul Rahman, a Muslim poet of Western India, one verse of Hemacandra occurs with slight modifications. The work is composed in late Western Apabhramśa, which shows some admixture of New-Indo-Aryan forms of the subsequent times and the metres used there are noticeable in the early vernacular poems also. Before we enter into further discussion we quote the verse and show the difference between them. In the *Saṁdeśa-rāsaka* II occurs

jasu pavasanta ṇa pavasiā muia vioi ṇa jāsu
lajjijjaü saṁdeśaḍā diṁti pahia piāsu.

(Trans.: Moreover I am ashamed to send the message because neither I accompanied him when he left, nor did I die during his separation.) The same appears in Hemacandra IV. 419. 3 as

jaü pavasantem̃ sahu na gaa na mua vioe tassu
lajjijjai saṁdesaḍā dintohi̇̃ suhaa-jaṇassu.

(Trans.: In as much as I did not accompany him when he went on his journey, nor did I die in his absence, I am ashamed to send messages to my lover.)

The date of the *Saṁdeśa-rāsaka* has been fairly discussed by Muni Jinavijaya-ji, the editor of the work. Muniji concludes that the work was composed probably during the reign of Siddharāja or Kumārapāla, i.e. in the latter half of the twelfth century or the first half of the thirteenth century.[1] It is to be noted here that the date synchronizes approximately with that of the Pkt. grammar, which was composed by Hemacandra during the lifetime of Siddharāja (reigning between A.D. 1093 and 1143).

[1] 'From all these I infer that Saṁdeśa-rāsaka must have been composed during the reign of Siddharāja or Kumārapāla, i.e. in the latter half of the twelfth century or, at the latest, the first half of the thirteenth century of the Vikrama era.' Introduction to *Saṁdeśa-rāsaka*, p. 13.

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Though Hemacandra and Abdul Rahman—the author of the *Saṁdeśa-rāsaka*—were almost contemporaneous, it is certain that the former was earlier than the latter. It is a fact that after the death of Kumārapāla and before the rise and consolidation of the Muslim power in Delhi and all over Northern India, the kingdom of Gujarat and other important business centres like Multan and Cambay of Western India sustained decay and ruin, consequent on depredations by the invaders, of which they could not survive the shock. As such they were never restored to their former glory and eminence. (Introduction—*Saṁdeśa-rāsaka*, p. 15). As a deep regret for the glory, which was once attained by those places and was subsequently lost, has found expressions in the stanzas of the *Saṁdeśa-rāsaka*, the latter may be taken quite legitimately to be later than the Pkt. grammar of Hemacandra, which boldly declares the indomitable suzerainty of the Caulukya Kings of the pre-Muslim period. The occurrence of some later-developed New-Indo-Aryan forms in the *Saṁdeśa-rāsaka* and their absence in the Apabhraṁśa stanzas of Hemacandra also point to the same conclusion. So we may state that Hemacandra did not borrow from the *Saṁdeśa-rāsaka* the stanza which his grammar had in common with the latter; but contrarily, it seems to be true that Abdul Rahman, who flourished shortly after Hemacandra and had a great possibility of coming under the influences of the latter, borrowed the stanza from the Pkt. grammar.

We have elaborately discussed the problem and in conclusion we should make some generalizations. Here we must say that in some cases the influence of other works on Hemacandra is unmistakably recognized, but in others, the similarity of expressions, the exposition of the same sentiments in identical manner, may be otherwise explained, which nevertheless, deserves more than a passing observation. Even from the very early times—nay the beginning of the cultivation of Skt. poetry—the attempts of the minor poets to compose verses, in imitation of the poems of the more talented, gave rise to various repetitions of some popular thoughts, ideas, fancies and imaginations. These repetitions and imitated compositions were so frequent in growth that soon the original innovators of such popular thoughts and ideas were forgotten and these became the property of all—specially the poetasters, who felt no scruples, whatsoever, in freely drawing upon them in their own compositions. Again the poets of one age inherited this treasure of ideas from their ancestors and left the same for their successors as legacy at their death. This process of inheritance of poetic thoughts and tendencies continued for centuries. So as a result of this constant cultivation it is quite likely that some kind of similarity became manifest between the compositions of the poets of the earlier ages and those of the poets of the later times, with reference to whom no question of direct borrowing could arise. These repetitions of thoughts and ideas and so also the manner of treatment may be held responsible for the development of some poetic conventions, which have been carefully noted by some of the rhetoricians.[1] Much importance was laid in the later days on these poetic conventions, which were carefully studied and even committed to memory by the young and ambitious poets. These were, again, quite indispensable for those who wanted to gain the credit of being extempore versifiers. So Keith is possibly correct in his statement.

[1] Viśwanātha in his Sāhityadarpaṇa (VII. 19, ed. Haridas Siddhāntavāgīśa) has mentioned some conventions, which were to be observed by the poets. Rājaśekhara too (*Kāvyamīmāṁsā* XIV ff.) has given a detailed description of these poetic conventions. Keith has elaborately discussed about the same in his History of Skt. Literature. (The aims and achievements of Skt. poetry, pp. 338ff.).

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'Another fact of importance in the development of Sanskrit literary taste was the fondness for the composition of poetry extempore or at least on a given theme with the least possible delay. This device might easily lead to undue regard for a complete and ready command of conventions, enabling the poet to turn out verses with the greatest possible speed. The praise bestowed on the quick-writing poet Śighra-Kavi to us must seem exaggerated, but the existence of the feeling is clearly attested' (Hist. of Skt. Lit., p. 344). Undoubtedly this feature points to a wide cultivation of the artificial poetry and its ready appreciation by the generous public. But what is of special interest here is that it explains in a quite large number of cases the similarity of thoughts, ideas and expressions existing in the compositions of the poets of the different times and this fact is surely to be considered in explaining similarity occurring between the stanzas of Hemacandra and those of the other poets, referred to above, in case direct borrowing cannot be established on the merit of conclusive evidences.

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DANCING MĀTṚIKĀS OF BHERAGHAT

By DEBALA MITRA

(Communicated by Dr. J. N. Banerjea)

The circular cloister, famous as the Chausath Yogini temple, on the top of a hillock overlooking the Narmada near its sacred confluence with a small stream at Bheraghat in District Jabalpur, Madhya Pradesh, has generally been assigned to the tenth century A.D. on the basis of the palaeography of the inscribed images enshrined in its niches.[1] Though the temple is well known as belonging to the sixtyfour Yoginis, the provision of eighty-one niches around the enclosure definitely shows that from its very inception it was designed for the enshrinement of as many images, inclusive of the conventional sixtyfour Yoginis. Even now, all the niches contain sculptures, most of them badly mutilated; but centuries of reshuffling have greatly disturbed their original arrangement, and a few niches contain more than one image each. Leaving aside the two incongruous sculptures (one of Hanumān and the other a crudely-executed lower half of a standing figure of purplish sandstone), which apparently found their way to the temple at a much later date, the images fall stylistically into two distinct groups. The majority, constituting the first group, bear labels, in some cases lost, on their pedestals in tenth-century characters; richly bejewelled, they are mostly seated and very rarely standing, and are characterized by elaborately-carved stela. The second group, which forms the subject of the present paper, consists of uninscribed dancing figures carved in high relief, each on a plain rectangular slab of reddish sandstone. Cunningham recognized four such dancing females.[2] R. D. Banerji also noted the difference in the style of execution between the two groups of images and observed: 'There are five images of the second type in the circular temple at Bheraghat. In this class of images the figures are always standing and have been ruthlessly mutilated at some later date. This class of images is not inscribed but appear to belong to the Kushan period'.[3]

However, an examination of the dancing figures does not warrant this early dating, and even a glance at Pls. I and II[4] will be sufficient to convince anybody of the post-Gupta origin of the sculptures. In spite of the prominent *trivalī*-marks, diaphanous drapery, restraint in ornamentation and simplicity of conception, all reminiscent of Gupta tradition, they hardly exhibit the soft plasticity of modelling and delicacy of features characterizing Gupta classicism. Indeed, the lack of proportion between the upper and lower limbs, coupled with hardened features, bespeaks more a stage of exhaustion than of consummation. On these considerations, we shall not be far wrong if we place the sculptures to about the end of the seventh century.

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[1] R. D. Banerji. The Haihayas of Tripuri and their Monuments. *Mem. Arch. Surv. Ind.*, 23, p. 69.

[2] *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, IX, p. 63.

[3] The Haihayas of Tripuri and their Monuments. *Mem. Arch. Surv. Ind.*, 23, p. 69.

[4] Photographs reproduced here are the copyright of the Department of Archaeology, Government of India.

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The sculptures in question form a distinct group by themselves from the point of view of material, subject-matter, general treatment and style. All are four-armed and are shown in the dancing pose. Besides a pendant dangling gracefully on one of their thighs, they wear necklaces of varying designs, armlets (*aṅgada*), girdles (*mekhalā*), anklets (*nūpura*) and ear-rings (*kuṇḍalas*) and are clad in transparent lower garments with ends meeting in front. The aureoles (mostly broken) have a border of lotus-petals.

In spite of their sadly-mutilated condition (the head is partially preserved only in one case) and complete disappearance of the forearms with the attributes in the hands, four out of the group can easily be identified with the Mātṛikās Brahmāṇī (Pl. I A, left figure), Kaumārī (Pl. I B), Vaishṇavī (Pl. II A) and Indrāṇī (Pl. II B), by their respective *vāhanas*, viz. swan, peacock, Garuḍa and elephant, carved near their right foot. The figure of Garuḍa to the left of Vaishṇavī is greatly damaged, but the extant traces of wings leave little doubt about its identity. Besides, the goddess wears a long garland (*vaijayantī-mālā*), characteristic of Viṣhṇu, which is absent in other images. Kaumārī is distinguished by a *kucha-bandha* (breast-band) instead of the long pleated scarf (*uttarīya*), the ends of which can be seen in the images of Brahmāṇī and Indrāṇī hanging by their sides. The right-hand figure on Pl. I A can be identified as Māheśvarī by virtue of her *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. The small figure near the left foot of each goddess, recognizable wherever the lower portion of the back-slab is intact, apparently stands for the child of these mother-goddesses.

Of the images of the remaining two Mātṛikās, viz. Vārāhī and Chāmuṇḍā, which almost certainly existed here, one seems to be represented by an utterly mutilated sculpture (marked 38A when I visited the monument in 1955); even in its badly-disfigured condition, the sculpture, of the same reddish sandstone as the identifiable ones, can definitely be regarded as belonging to the aforesaid group. It can also be seen that it lacks the features of Chāmuṇḍā, and should therefore almost certainly be identified with Vārāhī. Of Chāmuṇḍā, no representation seems to exist at present, but her remains may be sought for in the heap of fragments lying in the courtyard of the temple.[1]

To complete the whole Sapta-Mātṛikā group, the figures of Vīrabhadra and Gaṇeśa, the guardians of the Mātṛikās according to the iconographic texts,[2] are also identifiable among the enshrined images (Pls. III B and IV B). Executed in the same style and the material as the Mātṛikās, they, too, are shown in a dancing pose. The attributes of Vīrabhadra strictly conform to the requirements of the texts, as he has matted locks and holds both *vīṇā* and *triśūla*; in addition to the usual ornaments he wears a double garland made of bones (*asthimālā*).

Presumably, therefore, Bheraghat was a centre of the Śākta cult in the seventh century, when a temple was built in honour of the Sapta-Mātṛikās. Either on the ruins of this temple, or with the growing popularity of the Tāntric cult of the sixtyfour Yoginis, an altogether new temple came to be erected here to house the entire Yogini pantheon. The older images were, however, not neglected and found place alongside the new ones in the niches

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[1] It appears that the sculpture of Chāmuṇḍā existed when Cunningham visited the place, for he mentions the dancing image of 'the skeleton goddess Kāli' (no. 44 of his list) in the earlier group; *op. cit.*, p. 63.

[2] *Matsya Purāṇa* (Bangavasi ed.), ch. 261, verses 38 and 39:

Vināyakaṅ cha kurvīta Mātṛīṇām antike sadā ||
Vīreśvaraścha bhagavān vṛishārūdho jaṭādharaḥ |
Vināhastas triśulī cha Mātṛīṇām agrato bhavet ||

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of the cloister, the circular formation of which may be due more to the exigency of the Tāntric rituals[1] than to the expedience of arranging so many images under one roof. It is quite likely that the name of the locality (Bheraghat) is a modern form of some such original word like Bhairava(ī)-ghāt.

The available iconographic texts enjoin that the Mātṛikās are to be represented as seated, though here, as also in several other places, mostly in Central India, they are shown in a dancing attitude. A set of independent Mātṛikā images, bearing striking similarity to the Bheraghat specimens and originally hailing from Kota, are now exhibited in the Gwalior Museum. Of the four images of the group illustrated here, the figure of Brahmāṇī (Pl. III A) has suffered most: but sufficient traces remain to show that she is four-headed and four-armed and is clad in a diaphanous drapery, wears a *jaṭāmukuṭa*, and has her pendant dangling lower down her body; her mount, *haṁsa*, is carved behind her back. Kaumārī (Pl. II C), adorned with anklets, a girdle, bracelets, *ratnakuṇḍalas*, a necklace with pendant and a *śikhaṇḍaka* coiffure (characteristic of Kumāra), has *śakti* (spear) in her right hand and lotus in her raised left; the peacock, her mount, is seen on her right, pecking at the side of the scarf. Indrāṇī (Pl. III C) is also two-armed, her left hand holding a lotus and her right hand her characteristic weapon, *vajra* (thunderbolt); her mount, the elephant, is seen depicted behind her. Decked in sparse but elegant ornaments, the image, with its softly rounded limbs, mellow introspective expression, beautiful coiffure and roundish *prabhāvalī*, is a remarkable piece of sculpture. Chāmuṇḍā (Pl. IV C) has four arms, an emaciated body and bristling hairs containing a serpent. Besides her usual ornaments, she is decked in a garland of skulls and bones; in her right hands she holds a *kartṛi* (chopper) and a *kapāla* (skull-cup), and in her lower left hand most probably a *khaṭvāṅga*. Stylistically, these Mātṛikās, with their softened features, may be slightly earlier than the Bheraghat group and can be assigned to the first half of the seventh century.

A composite relief depicting the dancing mothers in a row, flanked by the figures of Vīrabhadra and Gaṇeśa, now housed in the Khajuraho Museum, is illustrated on Pl. IV A. The striking feature about the images is that each alternate figure of the Mātṛikās is shown in her tender aspect, holding a child; the war-like character of the rest, without the child, is emphasized by the weapons they hold. This juxtaposition clearly brings out the two antagonistic elements, namely maternal and martial aspects, of the goddesses. Thus Brahmāṇī, with four faces (the back one not seen), holds in her left hand a *kamaṇḍalu*. Māheśvarī is without any weapon but carries a child. Next is the figure of Kaumārī holding the *śakti*. The figure of Vaishṇavī is again with a child. Vārāhī holds in her right hand what looks like a *kapāla* (or fish?) and in her left a *vajra*. The next figure, Indrāṇī, with her child, is followed by the emaciated Chāmuṇḍā with an open mouth and protruding eyes, holding a *khaṭvāṅga*. All the deities, including the flanking Vīrabhadra and Gaṇeśa, are two-armed. The ornaments are more or less identical in all the figures, though the coiffure is different in individual cases: Vīrabhadra, Brahmāṇī and Māheśvarī have a *jaṭāmukuṭa*, Kaumārī a stylized *śikhaṇḍaka*, Vaishṇavī and Indrāṇī a *kirīṭamukuṭa*, and Chāmuṇḍā a *jaṭāmukuṭa* with skulls. There is, however, no *lāñchhana* in any case. Stylistically the slab may be a product of the ninth-tenth century.

[1] According to the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* of Varāhamihira, the images of the Mātṛikās are to be installed by those who are well versed in the *maṇḍalakrama* (*Mātṛiṇāṁ api maṇḍalakramavidaḥ*), ed. Dvivedi, chap. 59, v. 1.

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The foregoing matter sufficiently shows the existence of dancing Sapta-Mātṛikās in central India in early medieval days, but such divinities have been noted to occur elsewhere as well. Thus, in the Sarnath Collection can be seen a group of dancing Sapta-Mātṛikās, preceded and followed by the usual Vīrabhadra and Gaṇeśa, above the lintel of a votive shrine.[1]

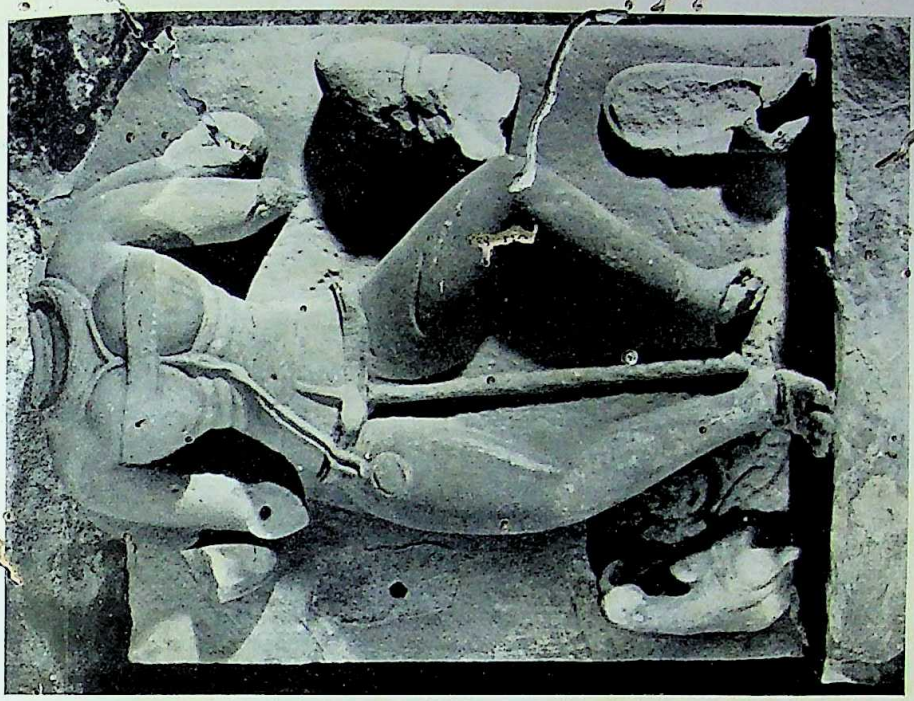
There is no doubt that dancing Sapta-Mātṛikās existed side by side with those of the other variety which was definitely more popular and probably with a much longer chronological range. Whether the dancing variety had any cult-significance or merely represents an iconographic feature cannot at present be determined.

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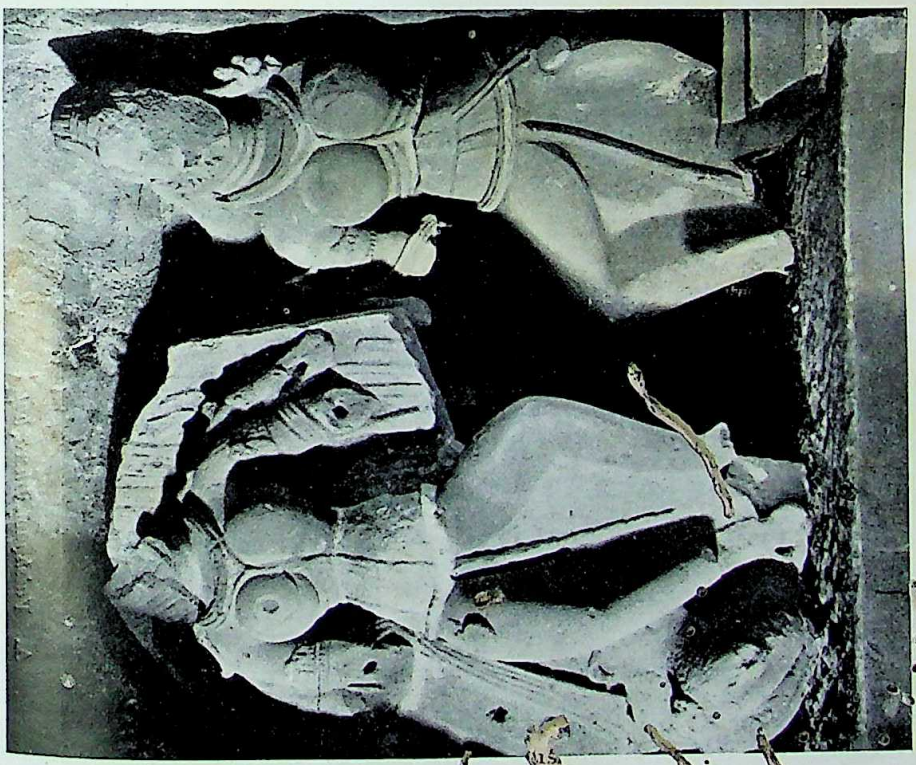
[1] Reproduced in N. K. Bose, *Canons of Orissan Architecture* (Calcutta, 1932), facing p. 176, and described in D. R. Sahni, *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath* (Calcutta, 1914), p. 326, where it is said to have belonged to the Queen's College, Banaras, Collection and thus presumably hailed from some place near Banaras.

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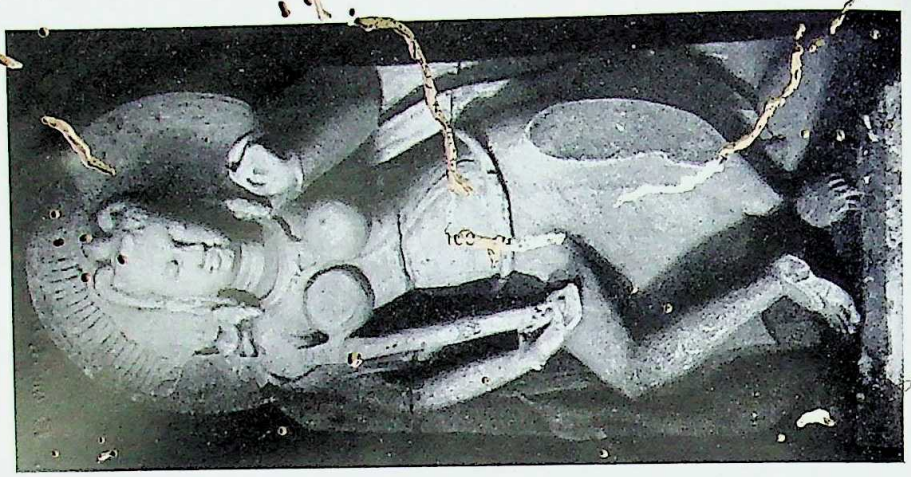
B. *Kaumārī, Bheraghat*



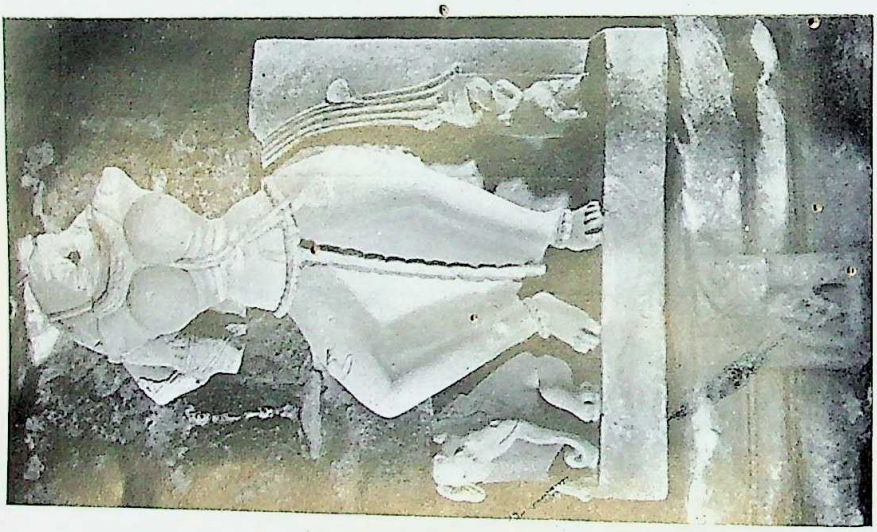
A. *Brahmāṇī (left) and Māheśvarī, Bheraghat*

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C. *Kaumārī, Kota (now in the Gwalior Museum)*



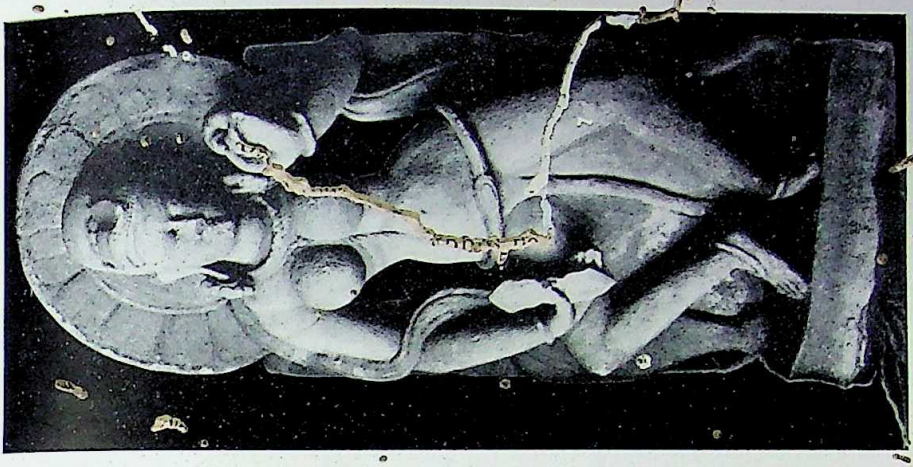
B. *Indrāṇī, Bheraghat*



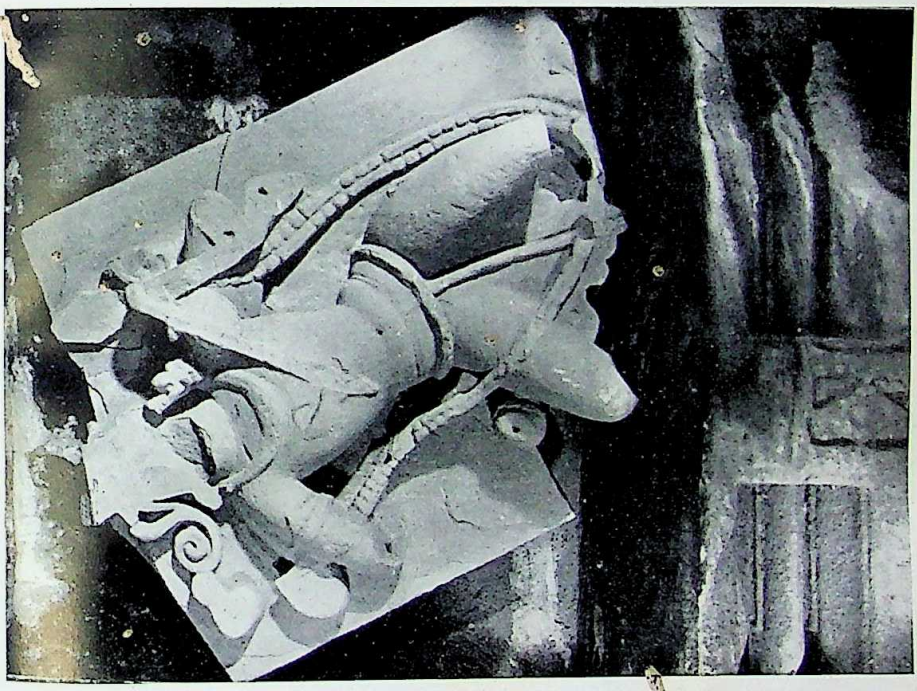
A. *Vaishṇavī, Bheraghat*

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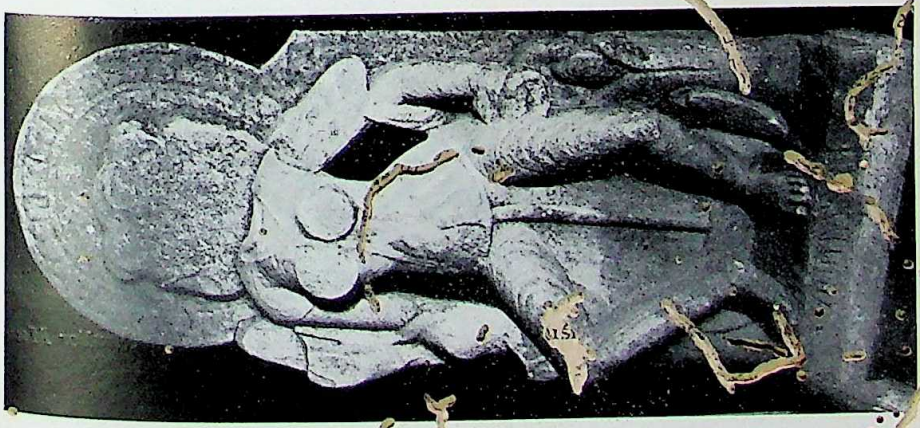
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C. *Indrāṇī, Kota (now in the Gwalior Museum)*



B. *Vīrabhadra, Bheraghat*



A. *Brahmāṇī, Kota (now in the Gwalior Museum)*

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A. *Sapta-Matṛikā panel, Khajuraho Museum*



B. *Gaṇeśa, Pāṇeraghat*



C. *Chāmuṇḍā, Kota (now in the Gwalior Museum)*

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ORIGIN OF WORSHIP WITH FLOWERS

By Basanta Kumar Chattopadhyaya

With a rejoinder by Suniti Kumar Chatterji

(August 15, 1955)

In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XVI, 1950, No. 1, Dr. S. K. Chatterji has expressed the opinion that the method of worship with flowers is of Dravidian origin. He has quoted Mark Collins who says that the word *puja* is derived from the Dravidian word *pu*, meaning flowers, and the Dravidian root *cey*, *gey* meaning to do and the word *pugey* has been modified to *puja* meaning *puṣpakarma* as distinguished from *paśu-karma* or Vedic sacrifice in which animals are slaughtered. He has also quoted Jarl Charpentier who suggests that the word *puja* is derived from the Dravidian root *pusu* or *pucu* meaning 'to smear' anointing with vermilion or sandal paste or blood being in his opinion the basic element in the *puja* rite.

But it seems more probable that the word *puja* is a variation of the compound word *puṣpa-yajanam*, worship with flowers (*puṣpa* = flower, *yajanam* = worship). The word *puṣpa* occurs several times in the Vedas. Ṛg-Veda Saṁhitā 2. 13. 7 refers to herbs with flowers and fruits and uses the word *puṣpiṇī* to denote 'having flowers'.[1] The words *puṣpiṇī* and *apuṣpā*, (meaning with and without flowers) occur in Ṛg-Veda Saṁhitā 10. 97. 15 [2] and also refer to herbs. *Apuṣpā* (without flowers) also occurs in the Ṛg-Veda Saṁhitā 10. 71. 5.[3] Again *puṣpiṇī* (with flowers) occurs in Ṛg-Veda Saṁhitā 10. 142. 8,[4] and *puṣpavatī* (with flowers) occurs in Ṛg-Veda

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[1] यः पुष्पिणीश्च प्रसस्य धर्मणाधि दाने ब्वनीरधारयः ।

Ṛg-Veda Saṁhitā 2. 13. 7.

'O Indra, you give to the earth the creepers which are flowering, which have produced fruits or are producing them.'

[2] याः फलिनीर्या अफला अपुष्पाः याश्च पुष्पिणीः ।
बृहस्पतिप्रसूतास्ताः नो मुञ्चन्त्वंहसः ॥

Ṛg-Veda Saṁhitā 10. 97. 15.

'May the creepers, those with fruits and those without fruits, those without flowers and those with flowers, under the command of Bṛhaspati, free us from sins.'

[3] उत त्वं सख्ये स्थिरपीतमाहुर्नैनं हिन्वन्त्यपि वाजिनेषु ।
अधेन्वा चरति माययैष वाचं शुश्रुवाँ अफलामपुष्पाम् ॥

Ṛg-Veda Saṁhitā 10. 71. 5.

'He who knows the meaning of the Vedas is regarded as a wise and beneficial man in an assembly of learned persons. People discuss the meaning of the Vedas keeping such a person in their forefront. He who does not know the meaning of the Vedas, but knows only the words, is like a cow which does not give milk or like a tree with neither fruits nor flowers.'

[4] आयने ते परायणे दूर्वा रोहन्तु पुष्पिणीः ।
हृदाश्च पुण्डरीकाणि समुद्रस्य गृहा इमे ॥

Ṛg-Veda Saṁhitā 10. 142. 8.

'Oh Agni, when you come and when you go from our residence let flowering durva (grass) grow, let there be lakes and lotuses, let these places be the regions of the ocean.'

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Saṁhitā 10. 97. 3.[1] Some scholars think that the 10th Mandala of the Ṛg-Veda Saṁhitā is of later date. If the word *puṣpa* occurred only in the 10th Mandala they might have said that the word *puṣpa* in the Ṛg-Veda Saṁhitā was taken from the Dravidian word *pu*. But the mention of the word in the 2nd Mandala shows that the word *puṣpa* is Aryan, and the Dravidian word *pu* was taken from the Sanskrit word *puṣpa*.

None of the other Sanskrit words denoting a flower, viz. *Kusuma*, *prasūna*, *Sumanasah*,[2] is found in the Vedas in this sense. The word *Sumanasah* is found in the Vedas but it does not denote a flower, it denotes a good heart. There must have been some word among the Aryans to represent a flower and it can be no other than *puṣpa*. It is very likely that the Dravidians contracted the word *puṣpa* to the more easily pronounceable word *pu*. Both the words *puṣpa* and *Yajana* being Aryan, the compound word *puṣpa-yajana* contracted to *pujana* or *pūjā* becomes natural.

Again the word *puṣkarasrajā* occurs in Ṛg-Veda Saṁhitā 10. 184. 2.[3] It is an adjective of *Aśvinau* who are said here to wear garlands of lotuses. As these gods love the lotus it may be inferred that they would be pleased if lotuses are offered to them. We may see here the origin of the custom of offering flowers to the gods. But even if it is held that the custom originated after the Vedas there is no reason to think that it could not be a natural development among the Aryans themselves—who at first offered *ghṛta*, cakes and meat—and afterwards began to offer fruits and flowers. Dr. Chatterji says that mention of worship with flowers is found for the first time in the Mahābhārata where Śrī Kṛṣṇa says, 'whoever worships me with flowers, fruits etc. I accept those offerings (Gita 9. 26)'. He also says that here Śrī Kṛṣṇa has given his approval to the non-Aryan method of worship being accepted by the Aryans. As explained before there is no sufficient reason to consider that worship with flowers is of non-Aryan origin. When in the battlefield of Kurukṣetra Arjuna refused to fight, Śrī Kṛṣṇa condemned Arjuna's attitude as similar to that of non-Aryans (Gita 2. 2) from which it may be inferred that Śrī Kṛṣṇa was against the adoption of non-Aryan culture and not in favour of the fusion of Aryan and non-Aryan cultures. Moreover Śrī Kṛṣṇa was not the first person to advocate the method of worship with flowers. For we find such method of worship in the Rāmāyaṇa which (as stated by Dr. Winternitz) must be considered to be earlier than the Mahābhārata, as no incident of the Mahābhārata is found mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa but the entire story of the Rāmāyaṇa is found in the Mahābhārata. When Rāma is told by Kaikeyi that he should go to the forest, he goes to take leave from his mother Kauśalyā whom he found engaged in the worship of Viṣṇu. Among the articles of worship Rāma saw 'Lājān mālyāni śuklāni pāyasam Kṛṣaram

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[1] ओषधीः प्रतिमोदध्वं पुष्पवतीः प्रसूवरीः।

Ṛg-Veda Saṁhitā 10. 97. 3.

'O you creepers, with flowers and fruits, may you be benign to the patient.'

[2] स्त्रियः सुमनसः पुष्पं प्रसूनं कुसुमं समम् (अमरकोषः)।

[3] गर्भं धेहि सिनीवालि गर्भं धेहि सरस्वति।
गर्भं ते अश्विनौ देवौ धत्तां पुष्करस्रजौ॥

Ṛg-Veda Saṁhitā 10. 184. 2.

'May goddess Sinīvāli retain the embryo in your womb, may goddess Sarasvati do the same, may the twin gods Aśvinau who wear garlands of lotuses also do the same.'

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tathā' (Ayodhakanda, 20. 18) 'Fried paddy, white garlands, preparations of milk, sweetmeats made of Tila, Mudga and rice'. As Vyasa says in the Mahābhārata, 'In order to understand definitely the meaning of the Vedas one should study the Itihāsas (i.e. the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata) and the Purāṇas'.[1] These books were composed by Vedic scholars in order to explain and illustrate the Vedas. It is stated in the Śrīmad-bhāgavatam 'Women, sudras etc. do not know the Vedas. Out of compassion for them Vyasa wrote the Mahābhārata so that they also might know what is *dharma*'.[2] Again it has been said that in the Mahābhārata the meaning of the Vedas has been shown.[3] It would therefore be proper to conclude that the custom of worship with flowers which is found mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas is of Aryan and not Dravidian origin.

Rejoinder

Sri Basanta Kumar Chatterji's derivation of the Sanskrit word *pūjā*, *pūjana*, and of the root *pūj* as being from a suppositious Sanskrit compound **puṣpa-yajana* is a linguistic *plaisanterie* which need not be seriously taken. The word **puṣpa-yajana* has not been found in any Sanskrit work, ancient or modern, but its assumption by Sri Chatterji as a possible source-form of the word *pūjā* is an admission of the fundamental difference in the spirit of the two kinds of ritual, viz. *homa* and *pūjā*. *Puṣpa-yajana* could not be transformed into *pūjana* by merely dropping arbitrarily certain syllables in the middle of the compound. If it were to come to classical or literary Sanskrit through Prakrit, we would have got an intermediate form like *puppha-y* (*j*) *ajaṇa*, but this even we do not have.

Sri Chatterji seems to think that the occurrence of a word in the *Ṛg-Veda* makes it unthinkable that it can be of non-Aryan origin. But as a matter of fact, already in the language of the *Ṛg-Veda*, non-Aryan words have been found, and Vedic Sanskrit itself was very profoundly affected by Dravidian and other non-Aryan speeches. The word for 'flower' is *pū* universally in Dravidian, and they have no other common word. The New Indo-Aryan word *phūl* comes from Old Indo-Aryan or Sanskrit *phulla*, which means 'blown' or 'full-blown'.

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[1] इतिहासपुराणाभ्यां वेदं समुपबृंहयेत् (महाभारत १।१।२६७)।

[2] Strīśūdra dvija bandhūnāṁ trayī na Śrutigocarā, karmaśreyasi mūḍhānaṁ śreya evaṁ bhavediha, Iti Bhāratamākhyānam kṛpayā muninā kṛtam (Śrīmadbhāgavata 1. 4. 25).

[3] Bhāratavyapadeśena hyāmnāyārthaśca darśitah (Śrīmadbhāgavata 1. 4. 30).

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Sri Chatterji is also at pains to establish how the ritual of *pūjā* with flowers was a development within Aryandom itself, and I leave scholars to judge how far he has been successful. That the ritual of worship with flowers (and incense) was something which was quite new to the Aryan world is amply evidenced by a discussion on the use of flowers, incense etc. in religious worship which we find in the *Anuśāsana Parvan* of the *Mahābhārata*. The *rationale* is sought to be explained, evidently to meet questions from an enquirer, and it would suggest that it was a new kind of ritual which required to be explained, at least to some Aryan speakers who did not understand this ritual. It is mentioned there that lotuses and other aquatic flowers were the offerings most suitable for Gandharvas, Nāgas and Yakṣas, and these secondary deities of the Hindu pantheon are now looked upon as having originally belonged to the non-Aryan pantheons—the Devas only being the proper Gods of Indian Aryandom in its oldest period (there is no mention of the Aśvins, though as Sri Chatterji is inclined to think that lotuses were probably the favourite flowers of these Aryan gods).

As regards the relative datation of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Sri Chatterji is evidently not familiar with the general consensus among Indologists in this connexion. Nobody accepts the position that there is an historical core or basis for the *Rāmāyaṇa*, whereas generally it is accepted that the *Mahābhārata* Saga has an historical basis. The *Mahābhārata* in its essential character is quite different, being made up of ballads which were popularly recited, to which a huge mass of didactic and other materials have been superimposed, whereas the *Rāmāyaṇa* is a *kāvya* which owes its origin to the genius of some individual poet. The dates of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* are generally placed between 400 B.C. and A.D. 400, and although the nucleus of the *Mahābhārata* may be older and may even go back to the tenth or ninth century B.C., we cannot make a similar claim for the *Rāmāyaṇa*. So we cannot say that anything found in the *Rāmāyaṇa* is *ipso facto* anterior to the *Mahābhārata*. On the other hand, the *pūjā* ritual being taken for granted in the *Rāmāyaṇa* is an evidence of the lateness of at least those portions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* where this ritual is mentioned, when *pūjā* became established in a newly born Brahmanical or Hindu Society of mixed Aryan-non-Aryan origin.

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THE GEOGRAPHICAL AND CULTURAL ASPECTS OF THE NORTHERN ITINERARY OF RAGHU AS DESCRIBED BY KĀLIDĀSA

By BUDDHAPRAKASH

The key to the understanding of the northern conquests of Raghu described by Kālidāsa in the fourth canto of his *Raghuvaṁśa* lies in the determination of the reading of its sixty-seventh verse.[1] In this verse it is controversial whether the reading *vaṅkṣu* should be accepted or *sindhu* should be preferred. Mallinātha has accepted the reading *sindhu* and D. R. Bhandarkar [2] and Hodiwala [3] have agreed with him. On the other hand, K. B. Pathak [4] and B. C. Law [5] have taken the variant *vaṅkṣu* as correct and identified it with the Oxus. S. K. Aiyangar [6] has followed this view but equated *vaṅkṣu* with a tributary of the Oxus named wakshah rather than the Oxus itself. For the determination of the correct reading of this word the Nāgpur stone inscription of Naravarmadeva dated 1161 Vikrama era or A.D. 1104-1105 is very important. Verses 35–54 of this inscription allude to the victorious campaign of his brother Lakṣmadeva who is represented like Raghu as going from east to west and north to south conquering all the countries. Verse 54 refers to the encampment of Lakṣmadeva on the bank of the *vaṅkṣu* in connection with his encounter with the king of the Kīras.[7] The first line of this verse is a paraphrase of verse 67 of the fourth canto of the *Raghuvaṁśa* cited above. In it the reference to the withering of saffron filaments as a result of the rolling of horses recalls the description of the smearing of the manes of the horses of Raghu with saffron by reason of their rolling down. A glance at the imagery and phraseology of these verses leaves no room for doubt that the author of the Nāgpur Praśasti had in mind the conception of Kālidāsa and recapitulated it in almost the same style. This identity of idea and diction is a guarantee of the reading *vaṅkṣu* in the verse of the *Raghuvaṁśa*. Had the reading in this verse been *sindhu*, it is hard to comprehend how the author of the Nāgpur Praśasti contemplated the campaign of Lakṣmadeva on the bank of the *vaṅkṣu* where horses rolled freely in saffron fields. The use of the words and

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[1] *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV, 67 :

विनीताध्वश्रमास्तस्य वंचु (सिन्धु) तीरविचेष्टनैः ।
दुधुवुर्वाजिनः स्कन्धांल्लग्नकुङ्कुमकेसरान् ॥

[2] *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* (*Letters*), Vol. XIII, No. 1 (1947), pp. 36-37.
[3] *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1930), pp. 282-83.
[4] *Indian Antiquary* (1912), p. 266.
[5] B. C. Law, *Geographical Aspect of Kālidāsa's Works*, p. 2.
[6] *Indian Antiquary* (1919), pp. 65-7[illegible]
[7] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, [illegible]58 :

खेलोत्खाततुरुष्कदत्तविलुठद्दाक्षावलीवेल्लन-
ज्ञाम्यत्कुङ्कुमकेसराधिकमृदौ वंचूपकण्ठस्थले ।
येनावाप्य सरस्वतीसविधतः साधिक्यवाक्पाटव-
स्वाटूनुत्कटपत्रपञ्जरगतः कीराधिपोऽप्यर्प्यत ॥

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thought of Kālidāsa in a context foreign to his composition is quite unthinkable. The obvious inference it suggests is that Kālidāsa referred to the rolling of horses in the saffron fields of the *vaṅkṣu* regions in connection with the northern campaign of Raghu and that the author of the Nāgpur Praśasti attributed this exploit to his brother Lakṣmadeva following the model set by the great poet.

The problem of the reading of the word in dispute has to be tackled from another point of view also. Kālidāsa associated the saffron-producing regions with the river that he had in mind. It is a well-known fact that saffron was cultivated in Bactria and the adjoining territories in ancient times.[1] In the *Amarakośa* (fourth century A.D.) one of the synonyms of *kuṅkuma* (saffron) is *vāhlīka* which suggests its Bactrian origin.[2] In his gloss on this lexicon, known as *Amarakośodghāṭana*, Kṣīrasvāmin (later half of the eleventh century) explains *vāhlīka* as a product of Vāhlī or Bactria and adds that in the northern campaign of Raghu it is referred to as besmearing the manes of his horses. Here Kṣīrasvāmin quotes the actual verse of the *Raghuvaṁśa*[3] (IV, 67) which proves that he had the reading *vaṅkṣu* in this verse before him. Otherwise it passes comprehension as to how he could have cited this verse while commenting on this word *vāhlika* as a synonym of saffron.

It is thus settled that Kālidāsa located the Hūṇas conquered by Raghu on the bank of the *vaṅkṣu* or Oxus rather than the Sindhu or the Indus. This shows that his northern campaign reached up to the *vaṅkṣu* which serves as a landmark in the study of its geographical and cultural aspects.

According to Kālidāsa Raghu led his northern expedition against the Persians (*Pārasīkas*) along the land-route (*sthalavartma*).[4] Before considering other aspects of this campaign it is desirable to specify this land-route. The researches of A. Foucher[5] have thrown a flood of light on this route and it is advisable to cast a flying glance at it.

The ancient routes connecting India with the north-western world passed along the tributaries of the Indus that water southern Afghanistan. From the way the rivers Suvāstū (Swat), Kubhā (Kabul), Krumu (Kuram), Gomati (Gomal), Yavyāvati (Jhob) and Sarasvati (Arghandab)[6] are mentioned in the *Ṛgveda* it appears that their importance lay in the routes

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[1] Berthold Laufer, *Sino-Iranica* (Chicago, 1919), p. 309.

[2] *Amarakośa*, Nṛvarga, verses 123-124 (edited by Sharma and Sardesai), p. 159:

तमालपत्रतिलकचित्रकाणि विशेषकम् ।
द्वितीयं च तुरीयं च न स्त्रियामथ कुङ्कुमम् ॥
काश्मीरजन्माग्निशिखं वरं वाह्लीकपीतने ।
रक्तसंकोचपिशुनं धीरं लोहितचन्दनम् ॥

[3] *Amarakośa* (edited by Sharma and Sardesai), p. 159:

वाह्लीकदेशजं वाह्लीकम् । यद्रघोरुत्तरदिग्विजये
दुधुवुर्वाजिनः स्कन्धांल्लग्नकुङ्कुमकेसरान् ।

[4] *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV, 61:

पारसीकांस्ततो जेतुं प्रतस्थे स्थलवर्त्मना ।
इन्द्रियाख्यानिव रिपूंस्तत्त्वज्ञानेन संयमी ॥

[5] A. Foucher, *La Vieille Route de l'Inde de Bactres à Taxila* (Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan), 2 Vols. (Paris, 1942–1947).

[6] Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, I, 99; III, 268.

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that passed along their banks. In the *Rgveda* mention is also made of *Hariyūpiyā* (Hariyob) at the sources of the Kuram.[1] The most important among these routes was that passing along the Kabul. Starting from Takṣaśilā it crossed the Indus at the ford of Und. This crossing had become the site of a flourishing city which is called Udbhāṇḍa in the *Rājatarangiṇī*, Udakabhāṇḍa by Hiuen T'sang, Wehand by Al-Biruni, Ohind by the people of Peshawar and Uṇḍ by the common folk of the neighbouring areas. Its Persian name dar-i-hind shows that it was the veritable gate of India. Somewhere in the vicinity of this place the armies of Alexander crossed the Indus on a bridge of boats. There, Hiuen T'sang crossed this river by boat at the time of entering into India and on the back of an elephant while going home. It was also there that the horses and camels of Babur waded through the Indus. But at the time of Akbar a permanent bridge was thrown across the Indus at Attock and the traffic shifted to that route. Before that the Attock route was not prominent.

From Uṇḍ the old route reached Svabi in the north and from there bending in a westerly direction arrived at Shāhbazgarhi, where the fourteen Rock Edicts of Aśoka attest its importance as a traffic-centre. From that place a sub-route branched off in the north and passing through the Shahkot Pass reached Chakdari on the Swat and therefrom going along this river led to the north via Manglawar. The main route moved from Shāhbazgarhi via Hotimardan and reached the confluence of the Swat (Landai) and the Kabul. The township of Prang marking this confluence is reminiscent of Prayāga which denotes the famous confluence of the Ganga and the Yamuna at Allahabad. There the great metropolis of western Gāndhāra, Puṣkalāvati, was situated. Its site is marked by the present town of Charsadda and the echo of its name persists in the neighbouring village of Pakholi.[2] After crossing the Swat the main route passed through the Michni Pass and touching Shah Mansurkhel and Haidar Khan crossed the Kabul and then wending through a stony plateau and traversing the villages of Isagai and Warsak reached Dakka. Since the foundation of Puruṣapura to the south of Puṣkalāvati by Kaniṣka the route had deviated towards that city and from there passing by Jamrud and Ali Masjid and going through the Khaibar Pass opened out at Landi Kotal whence a turn to the north joined it to the old track at Dakka. On this new route the remains of the stūpa of Shpol and a monastery in the vicinity of Ali Masjid still refresh the memory of ancient times. From Dakka both these routes merged into one track which tackled the difficult sandy and stony terrain up to Jalalabad (Nagarahāra). There the Kunar or Chitral meets the Kabul. The Chinese travellers Fa-hien, Hiuen T'sang and Sung Yun have given glowing descriptions of the topes and monasteries of this place. The great stūpa, where, according to Hiuen T'sang, Dipaṅkara had foretold the greatness of Buddha, is still called 'Ahanposh' (covered with iron) in that locality. The cut in the hills to the south of the village Chahar Bagh which is known as Siyah-sang (black mountain) represents the cave of Nāga Gopāla which Buddha is stated to have hallowed with his shadow. To the south of this place is Hidda (Hi-lo) where the vast ruins of Tippeh-Kalan bespeak its magnificence in the Buddhist period.

From Jalalabad the main route traversed the barren and sandy land and passing by Chahar Bagh and crossing the Surkhrud river took a turn

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[1] Aurel Stein. An Archaeological Tour in Waziristan (*Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 37, p. 2.)

[2] Alexander Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 49–51; J. W. M'Crindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 59.

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to the north and going across the Kabul river reached Mandrawar on the Laghman river in the west whose dunes enshrine the remains of Alexander's town Nikaia. Perhaps the echo of this town rings in the name of the village called Nichaiagram in Kafiristan. The green and flowery valley of Laghman (ancient Lampāka) sprawling at the feet of huge mountains constituted the northern frontier of India according to Hiuen T'sang. It was there that Babur felt the air of a new world that contrasted with the climate he had till then experienced. There the remains of two big stūpas are ensconced on the left bank of the Alingar at the slope of the Shamti mountain. If Hiuen T'sang is to be believed this country was dotted with dozens of stūpas. Leaving this valley the main route landed into arid and dry plateau called Dasht-i-Shaitan (the devil's jungle). The ruins of shrines and stūpas are scattered in that land also. Thereafter the route passed through the Badpash Pass and came out at Naghalu which dominates the confluence of the Panjshir and the Kabul. From there the route moved in the north along the Mahipar river and entered into the valley of Tagao where a polygonal *liṅga* attests the existence of a Śaiva temple. Near this *liṅga* is a Buddhist stūpa. After this valley comes the basin of Nijrao which abounds in old mounds. From there the route advanced towards the confluence of the Panjshir and the Ghorband rivers and neared the neighbourhood of ancient Kāpiśī where a big stūpa stands as a sign-post. There the combined stream of the Panjshir and the Shutul embraces the common flow of the Ghorband and the Salang. This was the famous cross-roads of ancient routes. It is significant that the coins of the Greek governors Pantaleon and Agathocles, found there, depict the Greek goddess of cross-roads, Hecates.

Half of the valley of Kāpiśī is known as Kohdāman and half is called Kohistan. In its north is Jabal-Saraj, the site of a modern electrical project, in the middle is Begram and in the west, Charikar. The southern flank of the valley is marked by Kohdāman. The site of Burj-i-Abdullah enshrines the remains of the ancient city. Around this place the ruins of a large number of stūpas and monasteries litter the land. To its east is the Koh-i-top or Koh-i-Pahalvan which stands for that famous hill where Hiuen T'sang noted a natural representation of Avalokiteśvara. A little to the south of this place was the stūpa of the Chinese hostages. In ancient times there was a prosperous settlement of the Greeks in this city. Alexander had founded a military cantonment after his name near Jabal-Saraj. But in the age of the Indo-Greek Kings the centre of civil administration had shifted to Kāpiśī. E. J. Rapson[1] has read the legend on a coin of Euthydemos restruck by Eukratides as *kaviśi*. The elephant-shaped crowns of some of these rulers symbolize the god of the locality, whose representation was noted by Hiuen T'sang in the Pilu-sar, a hillock shaped to the likeness of the head of an elephant. Alexander Cunningham[2] has identified Kālasi, the birthplace of Menander, according to the *Milindapañho*, with Kāpiśī. In his view this variant Kālasi is due to an orthographical solecism of the Ceylonese scribe. Foucher has shown that the Alasanda-dīpa of the *Milindapañho* is identical with the valley of Kāpiśī.[3]

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[1] *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 29, 555.

[2] A. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 38.

[3] A. Foucher, *La Vieille Route de l'Inde de Bactres à Taxila*, Vol. II, p. 216. In the Chinese translation of the *Milindapañho* Alasanda (A-li-san) is stated to have been situated on the sea-shore. For this reason Pelliot, Demiéville, Finot and Sylvain Lévi have identified Alasanda with Alexandria in Egypt. (P. Pelliot, *Journal Asiatique* (1919), pp. 413-417; P. Demiéville, *Bulletin de l'école Française d'Extrême Orient*

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Hiuen T'sang states that at a distance of 40 li from Kāpiśī was a place named Si-p'i-to-fa-la-sseu which has been equated with speta-varaz (white boar) by Pelliot.[1] But as Foucher has suggested the suffix 'fa-la-sseu' may be transcribed as *verez* meaning 'place, residence' instead of *varaz*.[2] On this showing, the name of this place would mean a 'white residence'. This was also the name of the encampment of the Persians at Memphis in Egypt according to Herodotus (III, 91). This meaning of the word in question proves that this place was a military cantonment of the Persians in ancient times. It was perhaps in view of the strategic importance of this locality that the aforesaid settlement was laid there. Thus we find that there was a Greek colony in Kāpiśī and in its vicinity there was a Persian cantonment also.

Advancing along this land-route the armies of Raghu had their first encounter with the Yavanas or Greeks.[3] On this route the Greek settlement at Kāpiśī continued to exist for a fairly long time. In its ruins several heads of Dionysus have been found and a headless statue of a Roman soldier has been discovered.[4] This image is dressed in a short tunic and is shown holding a big shield in the left hand. This shield has an oval and elongated form and its middle part consists of a protuberant shaft (*omphalos*). It represents the *scutum* that was in vogue in the Roman army in the period dating from the end of the Republic to the advent of the Empire. Another important find of this type from Begram is a pair of glass-vases, on which two warriors are represented as driving to battle in cars followed by infantrymen. On the basis of the inscriptions found on these vases, O. Kurz has identified these heroes with Hector and Achilles. This battle scene seems to have been a favourite theme of Graeco-Roman armies.[5] These finds attest the military importance of this settlement.

(1924), p. 168; L. Finot, *Milindapañho* (French translation), p. 157; Sylvain Lévi, *Alexandre et Alexandrie dans les documents Indiens, Mémorial Sylvain Lévi* (edited by Jacques Bacôt), p. 417.) It appears that this view is mainly based on the association of the word *dīpa* (island) with Alasanda in the *Milindapañho*. But it is noteworthy that the word *dīpa* means an 'island' as well as the 'doab' of two rivers. In the *Mahābhārata* (II, 26, 5-6) the doabs of Gāndhāra and the Panjab are called 'dvīpa':

विजिग्ये शाकलं द्वीपं प्रतिविन्ध्यं च पार्थिवम् ।
शाकलद्वीपवासाश्च सप्तद्वीपेषु ये नृपाः ।
अर्जुनस्य च सैन्यस्तैर्विग्रहस्तुमुलोऽभवत् ॥

The situation of Kāpiśī was not unlike that of Śākala (Sialkot). Since it is likely that Kālasi of Alasandadīpa may be an error of writing on the part of the Ceylonese scribe, it would be safer to locate Alasandadīpa in the valley of Kāpiśī.

[1] *Journal Asiatique* (1923), p. 162.

[2] Foucher, *La Vieille Route de l'Inde de Bactres à Taxila*, Vol. II, p. 371.

[3] *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV, 61:

यवनीमुखपद्मानां सेहे मधुमदं न सः ।
बालातपमिवाज्ञानामकालजलदोदयः ॥

Kālidāsa shows his knowledge of Takṣaśilā and Puṣkalāvati (*Raghuvaṁśa*, XV, 89). From this it is clear that he had the route of Puṣkalāvati in view.

[4] R. Ghirshman, *Bégram, Recherches Archéologiques et Historiques sur les Kouchans* (Caire, 1946), p. 53.

[5] O. Kurz in J. Hackin and others, *Nouvelles Recherches Archéologiques en Bégram*, Vol. I, p. 103; Vol. II, Plates 261–263. Statuettes of bronze especially those of Hercules crowned with an Egyptian calathus, a rider in classical garb and a philosopher of low-comedy type are indications of the Yavana cantonment (Mortimer Wheeler, *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers*, p. 194).

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In fact there was another Greek settlement at Nysa also. It was in existence even before the invasion of Alexander. It has been identified with Koh-i-mor in the Swat valley by Holdich, with Nysatta, a village near the northern bank of the Kabul river about six miles below Hashtnagar, by Vivien de Saint Martin and Bellow, with the neighbourhood of Mount Elum called Ram Takht at the foot of which is a cluster of old towns bearing Greek names derivable from Bacchos: Lusa (Nysa), Lyocah (Lyaeus), Elye, Awan, Bimeeter (Bimêtêr), Bôkra (Bou-Kera), and Kerauna (Keraunos), by Abbott, with Nagarahāra (Jalalabad) by M'Crindle and with a place in Bajaur, that is, the hilly country of Yaghistan between the Kunar and the Swat by Foucher.[1] In this connection it is sufficient to note here that Nysa lay in that campaign of Alexander which he undertook in the northern lands of the Aspasioi and the Assakenoi (Aśvakas) from Nikaia. The main part of his army marched under Hephaistion and Perdikkas along the route that traversed the bank of the Kabul and crossing the Michni Pass reached Puṣkalāvati and thence appeared on the Indus. Nysa is not mentioned on this main route. Hence it is clear that the Greek settlement of Nysa was somewhat removed from the main route. But the description of Kālidāsa does not show that Raghu deviated from the main route in order to vanquish the Yavanas. By referring straightway to the main land-route (*sthalavartma*) he has rather suggested that the conqueror continued to advance along it. Besides this fact, we do not get any trace of the existence of Nysa or Nikaia in later times. Their importance dwindled soon after the retreat of Alexander from India. Hence it is fairly certain that the encounter of Raghu with the Yavanas took place at Kāpiśī rather than the sites mentioned above.

Just after measuring swords with the Yavanas, Raghu had to face the vast cavalry of the Persians. It has been noted above that very near Kāpiśī was the military base of the Persians at Spetverez. Somewhere in the neighbourhood of that place the battle of Raghu with the Persians took place. The narrative of Kālidāsa makes it crystal clear that Raghu fought with the Persians somewhere in the valley of Kāpiśī. According to him the warriors of Raghu shook off the exhaustion of the war with the Persians by drinking wine in vineyards covered with choice skins.[2] In ancient times the grapes of Kāpiśī were considered the best and the wine distilled from them was far-famed. The grape of Kāpiśī was called *kāpiśāyanī drākṣā* and its wine *kāpiśāyanaṃ madhu*. Kauṭilya refers to two varieties of wine: *kāpiśāyana*, produced in the region around Kāpiśī from green grapes and *hārahūraka* manufactured in the valley of Harahvaiti or Arghandab from black grapes called *harahūrā*.[3] Pāṇini also refers to the wine of Kāpiśī in his *Sūtra* (IV, 2, 29) *kāpiśyāḥ śphak*. Curiously enough, the ceramic found in the third stratum at Begram reveals a *motif* relating to the manufacture of wine. This *motif* consists of a jar encased

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[1] J. W. M'Crindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, pp. 338–40.
B. M. Barua, *Aśoka and his Inscriptions*, p. 96.
A. Foucher, *La Vieille Route de l'Inde de Bactres à Taxila*, Vol. II, pp. 208, 260.

[2] *Raghuvaṃśa*, IV, 65:

विनयन्ते स्म तद्योधा मधुभिर्व्यजयश्रमम् ।
द्राक्षासवाजिनरजस्सु द्राक्षावलयभूमिषु ॥

[3] *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, II, 25, edited by R. Shamshastri, p. 120:

मद्योकारसो मधु । तस्य
खदेशो व्याख्यानं कापिशायनं हारहूरकमिति ।

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in two branches of vine from the ends of which bunches of grapes hang and on which two birds are perched. From the mouth of the jar emerges a shaft surmounted by a triangular object. This *motif* represents the equipment of manufacturing wine-jar, presser and filter. The triangular object placed on the presser is a conical filtering basket which the Romans called *colum*. The scene depicted here recalls the paintings found at Pompeii.[1] Besides this, a unique plaster medallion depicts the leaves and bunches of grapes forming a design of symmetrical arches.[2] These *motifs* prove that Begram was the home of grapes and the centre of the manufacture of its wine in ancient times. It is likely that the wine of Begram (Kāpiśī) was exported and stored in large quantities in that period. Recently a Russian archaeological mission led by M. E. Masson has discovered a large wine cellar in the remains of the Parthian capital at Nisa eleven miles north-west of Ashkabad, the modern capital of Turkmenia. In that wine cellar nearly 200,000 litres of wine were once kept in clay pitchers. The writings in ink on pieces of broken pitchers have revealed that they were mainly connected with the delivery of wine to the big slave-owning palace and temple of Nisa.[3]

The reference to the wine of grapes in the *Raghuvaṁśa* proves that the poet had the regions of Kāpiśī on the land-route in mind while describing the war of Raghu with the Persians.

In this context Kālidāsa has referred to some other matters of considerable historical and cultural interest. The most important fact is implicit in the remark on the Persians (Pārasīkas). The very object of the expedition of Raghu was the conquest of the Persians. It is well known that the rise of the Sassanid empire eclipsed the power of the Kuṣāṇas. Up to the time of Varahran II (A.D. 276–293) the governor of Khurasan used to be a prince of the royal blood bearing the title of 'Kuṣāṇśāh'.[4] In the time of Shāhpuhr II (A.D. 309–379) the Kuṣāṇas raised their heads as is manifest from the pompous title of 'devaputraśāhiśāhānuśāhi' employed for them in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta but they were soon mown down and Shāhpuhr signalized his ascendancy over them by the issue of a special type of coins bearing his name in Tukharian characters.[5] At a place named Gunde-Peisa about three miles to the south-east of Begram a piece of ceramic depicting two winged horses facing each other in heraldic pose has been unearthed.[6] This *motif* represents the emblem of the Sassanid empire. Its discovery in the vicinity of Kāpiśī conclusively shows that this region was within the sphere of influence of the Sassanids. In an inscription of Persepolis a high Judge of Kabul named Slok is said to have prayed that Shahpuhr II would return to Kabul in safety. The date of this inscription has been deciphered by Herzfeld as A.D. 356.[7] This clearly proves that the main nucleus of Kuṣāṇa empire had passed under the hegemony of the Persians. The discovery of the Merv

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[1] R. Ghirshman, *Bégram, Recherches Archéologiques et Historiques sur les Kouchans*, pp. 69-70, Pl. XIX.

[2] J. Hackin and others, *Nouvelles Recherches Archéologiques en Bégram*, Vol. I, p. 143 ; Vol. II, Fig. 281.

[3] M. E. Masson, *New Light on an Ancient Civilization*, Soviet Union (December 1954), pp. 28-29.

[4] Ernst Herzfeld, *Kushano-Sassanian Coins* (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India), No. 38; *Paikuli*, Vol. I, p. 42.

Joseph Hackin, *Répartitions des monnaies anciennes en Afghanistan, Journal Asiatique* (1935), p. 287.

[5] H. H. Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, Pls. XII, XIII, XIV.

[6] R. Ghirshman, *Bégram, op. cit.*, p. 70, Fl. C.

[7] Ernst Herzfeld, *Kushano-Sassanian Coins*, p. 36.

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coins of Shahpuhr II in the excavations at Taxila also proves that the Persian forces had penetrated up to the farthest limits of the Kuṣāṇa empire.[1] The impact of the Persians was also felt in the realm of art and religion as the progressive engrafting of the elements of the cult of Mithra on Buddhism in Afghanistan demonstrates. In the art of Bamiyan Buddha has been dressed in the garb of Mithra and the representation of the eight Buddhas recalls the eight magas or Bhojakas, Mihira, Nikṣubha, Rājñi, Daṇḍanāyaka, Piṅgala, Rājña, Strauṣa, and Iśa Garumtat, who are the eight divine forces emanating from the body of the sun-god.[2] Thus we observe that the realm of the Kuṣāṇas had virtually passed under the domination of the Persians. The reference to the Pārasīkas in these regions in the *Raghuvaṁśa* illuminates the entire political situation of the early Sassanid period.

The attention of Kālidāsa is particularly fixed on the beards of the Persians.[3] In this connection a legend mentioned in the *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa* is very interesting. King Sagara who was bent upon destroying the Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Pāradas and Pahlavas relented and released the first after having half of their head shaved, the second and third after having the whole of their head shaved, the fourth after compelling them to keep their hair dishevelled and the fifth after forcing them to keep their beards.[4] A pointed mention of the beards of the Pahlavas or Persians is also found in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* and the *Viṣnupurāṇa* (IV, 3). In the *Mahābhārata* (XII, 65) the Pahlavas are described as 'hairy'. The art of that period attests the prominence of beard in the representation of the faces of the Persians. In a picture of a four-armed Bodhisattva dressed in the guise of a Persian knight found at Dandan Öiliq the black beard and whiskers are prominently displayed.[5]

The army of these bearded Persian soldiers consisted mostly of cavalry.[6] Generally speaking all Aryan tribes knew horse-riding but the nomadic people of Central Asia made special progress in this art. In particular, the Śakas attained great proficiency in horsemanship and their life was intimately connected with the horse. At Begram the figurines of cavaliers have been found in the niches of rooms. The bonnets of these horsemen are conical in form and trident-shaped clips are inserted in their fronts. Long hair flowing from either side cover the ears. The chins are a bit raised and long straight moustaches join the tresses. The bodies are covered with long tunics and the legs are dressed in trousers.[7] Similar figurines have also been found at Afrasiab[8] near Samarkand, Tali Barzu

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[1] John Marshall, *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports* (1914-15), Nos. 48-49; (1915-16), Nos. 51-52.

[2] A. and Y. Godard and J. Hackin, *Les Antiquités Bouddhiques de Bamiyan* (1928), Pl. XXII.

[3] *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV, 63:

भल्लापवर्जितैस्तेषां शिरोभिः श्मश्रुलैर्मुखैः।
तस्तार सरघाव्याप्तैः स क्षौद्रपटलैरिव॥

[4] *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa*, XIII, 763-64; 775–83.

[5] V. A. Smith, *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 310.

[6] *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV, 68:

संयामस्तुमुलस्तस्य पार्श्वात्यैरश्वसाधनैः।
शार्ङ्गकूजितविज्ञेयप्रतियोधे रजस्यभूत्॥

[7] R. Ghirshman, *Bégram*, Pls. XX, XLVI.

[8] G. Treves, *Les Monuments de l'art Gréco-Bactrien*, Pl. XL.

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in Sogdiana, Dura-Europos[1] in Syria and Memphis in Egypt.[2] Ghirshman holds that these figurines represent some Śaka deity and were kept for worship in the cornices of rooms.[3] They prove the dependence of the life of the people of Central Asia, especially the Śakas, on the horse. The Śakas were so proficient in horse-lore that they were invariably employed as horse-grooms in the north-west. In the representation of a Jātaka scene on an ivory plaque found at Begram, the groom attending on the royal horse (*mangalāśva*) is dressed in a long Scythian tunic and a conical bonnet. In some other drawings also the horse traders are Scythians.[4] In fact, the horse is ubiquitous at Begram. A large number of sculptures and engravings relate to the horse.[5] From this point of view the mention of the cavalry of the Pārasīkas in which the Śakas must have prominently figured assumes a singular significance.

After the conquest of the Pārasīkas the object of Raghu was wellnigh achieved. But the trend of the narrative of Kālidāsa shows that he did not consider his position secure and felt it necessary to advance in the north. His position seems to be analogous to that of Alexander at Kāpiśī. In the north trouble flared up in Bactria and it became imperative for the conqueror to quell it. Hence he penetrated into the north and pounced on the Hūṇas on the Oxus. This shows that the connection of the Hūṇas with the Persians was so close that without conquering them the victory of Raghu over the Persians was of no consequence. But though these Hūṇas were intimately associated with the Persians they were not wholly subservient to them and had some political importance and strategic significance of their own in virtue of which a poet like Kālidāsa deemed it desirable to mention them in connection with the conquests of a conqueror like Raghu. A minor and unimportant people could not have been alluded to by him as the trend of his narrative shows.

For the northern expedition three routes branched off from Kāpiśī. These routes passed through the maze of mountain-valleys. Near Kāpiśī and Parvan the ranges of Koh-i-safed and Koh-i-baba come to an end and the peaks of the Hindukush begin to greet the eyes. The Hindukush is pitchforked between the range of Kafiristan in the east and that of Hazarjat in the west just as Java is sandwiched between Sumatra and Borneo. The rivers separating the Hindukush from these mountains surround it like a girdle. In its north the Andarab flows towards the east and the Surkh-āb flows in the west. These rivers respectively meet the Panjshir and the Ghorband which flow in the south of the Hindukush in the eastern and western directions. In the east near the confluence of the Andarab and the Panjshir is the Khawak Pass and in the west near the confluence of the Surkh-āb and the Ghorband is the Ak-Robat Pass. Along these rivers and through these passes routes lead from Kāpiśī and Kabul to the north. In the north of the Hindukush there is a third range of mountains stretching from Badakshan to Band-i-Turkestan. Several rivers cut it at many places and merge in the Oxus. In the north of Hindukush the routes passed along the valleys of these rivers.

From Kāpiśī one route moved in the west along the Ghorband, passed by Juy-e-dukhtaran and Chahar-dih and crossed the Shibar Pass, then

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[1] M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Dura and the Problem of Parthian Art*, pp. 188-89.
[2] Flinders Fetrie, *Memphis*, Vol. I, p. 15, Pl. XL.
[3] R. Ghirshman, *Bégram*, p. 75.
[4] A. Foucher, *Deux Jātaka sur Ivoire, Nouvelles Recherches Archéologiques en Bégram*, Vol. I, pp. 84-85; Vol. II, Pl. 96.
[5] J. Hackin and others, *Nouvelles Recherches Archéologiques en Bégram*, Vol. II, Pls. 153, 154, 156.

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going near the ancient walls of Shahr-i-Zohak reached the caravan-serai of Topchi. Leaving this place and moving ahead one comes across two colossii of Buddha on one side and the ruined ramparts of a Mohammedan citadel on the other. Nearby is the famous rest of Bamiyan. The remains of its convents and monasteries are still proclaiming its ancient glory. Between the two big standing Buddha images was the Buddhist establishment founded by 'an old king of the country' according to Hiuen T'sang. Another monastery was centred round the one thousand feet long lying statue of Buddha in *Parinirvāṇa* pose which is nowadays called the Ajdahā. Besides these convents dozens of other sanctuaries once marked this site. After refreshing and replenishing themselves at Bamiyan the caravans moved towards the north. Just after leaving Bamiyan they had to tackle the difficult pass of Ak-Robat. After crossing it the route passed through frightening mountain peaks. After scaling them and traversing the valley of the Saighan the route entered the terrible pass of Dandan-Shikan. Then came the valley of Madar and the pass of Kara Kotal. From there the route bent in the north-west and along the bank of the Darra Yusuf went up to its confluence with the Band-i-Pamir and then along the joint stream of these rivers known as Balkh-āb approached the northern spurs of the Elburz mountains and entered the famous city of Balkh by the southern gate. This was the most frequented route of ancient times.

The second route moved from Kāpiśī along the bank of the Panjshir in the east and crossing the Khawak Pass near its confluence with the Andarab turned to the west. The high peaks of this pass are called P'o-li-si-na by Hiuen T'sang, Parsiana by Ptolemy, Apārsēn in Pehlvi and Uparisaena (upariśyena) in the *Avesta*. This is perhaps identical with the Kukkuṭagiri mentioned by Pāṇini. From there the route moved in the west along the Andarab and passing by Samandan penetrated into the Murgh Pass in the north. After leaving this pass the route reached Narin via Yarm and then marching along the Kunduz river arrived in the Kataghan province of modern Afghanistan. From the city of Kunduz the rippling fields of the Oxus regions greet the eyes. From Kunduz a straight route joined Tashkurghan on the Khulm river and then moving in the west approached Mazar Sharif and Balkh. But this route was very repelling and difficult. It passed through sandy expanses where water is extremely difficult to get. Hence the caravans often bent southwards from Tashkurghan and reached Haibak and thence taking a circuitous turn in the east moved along the Kunduz in the north. The road-junction of Haibak was a flourishing centre of trade and traffic in ancient times. The remains of an old stūpa and four grottoes attest to the existence of a big Buddhist establishment at that place. This sanghārāma consisted of an assembly hall, a dormitory and a residence of the vihārasvamin.

Besides the aforesaid two routes a third moved due north from Parvan and crossing the Salang Pass opened out on the Andarab at Khinjan. From there it moved right west and reached Doshi whence it went to the Oxus along the Kunduz. One of its branches reached Tashkurghan via Haibak. But this route remained covered with snow for eight months in a year and used to become impassable.

There are some facts to show that Raghu did not follow the Bamiyan route. (1) Just after defeating the Hūnas on the Oxus Raghu conquered the Kāmbojas. As will be shown later the Kambojas occupied the Badakhshan regions. Had Raghu reached the Oxus at Balkh by the Bamiyan route, he would have traversed either the terrible route between Tashkurghan and Kunduz or taken a turn in the south via Haibak. This route was

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very cumbrous, circuitous and long and there is nothing to show that he took so many turns. (2) According to Kālidāsa, Raghu moved right in the north.[1] If he would have advanced on the Bamiyan route he ought to have first turned west. Thus it is clear that Raghu took either the route of the Khawak and Murgh passes or that of the Salang Pass and reaching the Oxus fought with the Hūṇas.

It appears that Raghu's encounter with the Hūṇas took place in that region of the Oxus which lies between the Wakshab and the Aksab. This region is called Khuttal by Arab geographers and Haittal in Persian. It is also known as Khuttlan or Khutlan following the nomenclature Kutl used by Al-Idrisi and kho-to-lo by Hiuen T'sang. In the works of the T'ang period it is named ku-tu or k'o-tu-lo and its king as *se-kin* and his son as *she*. Curiously enough the imprint of a seal bearing the legend 'dag śetak Hutlan' ΔΓΑ ŚITAK HTΛAN has been found on a piece of white skin that has been discovered at Mong on the Zarafshan.[2] The letter on which this seal is impressed is addressed to 'Dīvāstīch, King of Sogdiana, lord of Samarkand'. This King Dīvāstīch is identical with the dihkān of Samarkand mentioned by Ṭabari. A letter written by him to Emir Jarrāh bin 'Abdullāh, the governor of Khurasan (A.D. 717–719), in Arabic, shows that he was a vassal of the Arabs. His overlord in Sogdiana was one Gūrek, who followed a policy of appeasement towards the Arabs. Dīvāstīch broke away from this policy and tried to assert the independence of his state in Sogdiana by force of arms. Ultimately he was defeated and decapitated by the Arabs in A.D. 722. The King of Khuttal whose seal is under consideration is identical with *she* of the Chinese records, *she* and *śet* being the transcriptions of the same word. He sent many embassies to the court of the T'ang offering presents of horses. In 720 he solicited the assistance of the Chinese against the Arabs.[3] His name was Iwdag as is manifest from the seal. It seems that he and his ally Dīvāstīch were working together against the Arabs. We know that Khuttal is a form of the word Haittal or Hephthal or Hutlan,[4] the surname of Iwdag. Hence it is clear that the Hephthalites continued to rule over this region right from the time of their settlement there during the reign of Shahpuhr II up to the period of Arab conquest and gave it their name also.[5]

Kālidāsa referred to a peculiar funerary custom of the Hūṇas when he stated that the valour of Raghu expressed itself in the roseate cheeks of their ladies.[6] The correct import of this remark is missed by

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[1] *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV, 66:

तत: प्रतस्थे कौबेरीं भास्वानिव रघुर्दिशम् ।
शरैरुदीच्यानुदरिष्यन् रसानिव ॥

[2] A. A. Freimann, *Sogdian Collection* (1934), pp. 7-8 (in Russian).

[3] Edouard Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue Occidentaux, Notes additionnelles*, p. 43.

[4] G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 438, n. 1.

[5] The word Hūṇa seems to be the same as Khion or Hion that figures as a surname on the coins of the Hephthalite Kings. This word Khion appears to have been based on the Sogdian word 'Kshēvan' meaning a 'King' as shown by F. W. K. Müller (*Sogdische Texte*, I, 108). That the Khion or the Khionites were identical with the Hephthalites and that they were a people of Indo-European rather than Turkish stock has been shown by R. Ghirshman (*Les Chionites-Hepthalites* (introduction), p. 12). K. Enoki also holds that the Hephthalites were an Indo-European people. He goes to the extent of holding that their homeland lay in Tukharistan (*The Origin of the Hephthalites or White Huns, East and West* (1955), pp. 231–237).

[6] *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV, 68:

तत्र क्षणावरोधानां भर्तृषु व्यक्तविक्रमम् ।
कपोले पाटलादेशि बभूव रघुचेष्टितम् ॥

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ancient commentators. Mallinātha, for instance, observes that the cheeks of the Hūṇa women were made red by beating on account of sorrow caused by the death of their husbands.[1] But this is little better than a guess. We learn from Chinese sources that the T'u-Kiue of Mongolia used to slash their faces with knives so that blood could be seen flowing with tears whenever a man died.[2] This funerary custom is also noted among the Scythians by Herodotus (IV, 71). He observes that the people wounded their arms, faces and noses in honour of the dead. In fact the nomads of Central Asia including the Scythians and the Hūṇas had this custom of mourning the dead by wounding the faces with knives and letting blood flow with tears. Kālidāsa referred to it when he made a pointed remark on the red cheeks of the Hūṇa women on the occasion of the death of their husbands.

According to Kālidāsa Raghu fell upon the Kāmbojas just after defeating the Hūṇas. It is now commonly believed that the Kāmbojas were a people of Iranian stock inhabiting the Pamir-Badakhshan region.[3] Hiuen T'sang notes a country called Kiu-mi-to which represents Kumidha or the country of the Komedai of Ptolemy, through which the ancient caravans travelled eastward for silk. It stands for Darwaz (the gate, probably ancient Dvārakā) or the valley of Rasht. The chief town of Darwaz is still called Khum or Kala-i-khum, situated on the Ab-i-Piang the southern branch of the Amu. The name Khum is reminiscent of the Kāmbojas. Yāska has noted that the verb 'śav' was used in the sense of going among the Kāmbojas.[4] As Jayachandra Vidyālaṅkāra has shown, this verb is still used in this sense in many Galcha dialects. For instance, in the Shigni dialect 'śuta' and in the Zebki, Sanglichi and Ishkāshimi speeches 'śuda' mean 'went', in Mujani 'śia' means 'to go' and in Yuidgha 'śui' means 'went'.[5] There is a reference to a religious belief of the Kāmbojas in the *Bhūridatta-jātaka* according to which it was the duty of a man to kill snakes, frogs, flies, ants and reptiles.[6] In the *Avesta* these creatures are called Ahrimani animals which deserve to be killed. These facts show that the Kāmbojas had a close cultural affinity with the Iranians. Buddhaghoṣa has expressly described the Kāmbojas as Pārasakavaṇṇā.[7] Hence after worsting the

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[1] Mallinātha observes:

तत्रोदीच्यां दिशि भर्तृषु
व्यक्तविक्रमम्। भर्तृवधेन स्फुटपराक्रममित्यर्थः।

रघुचेष्टितं रघुव्यापारः क्षणजनपदाख्याः क्षत्रियाः तेषामवरोधा अन्तःपुरस्त्रियः तासां कपोलेषु पाटलस्य पाटलिम्नस्ताडनादिकृतारुणस्यादेश्युपदेशकं बभूव। अथवा पाटल आदेश्यादेशो यस्य तद्बभूव। स्वयं लेखायत इत्यर्थः।

[2] Stanislas Julien, *Documents sur les T'ou-Kiue*, *Journal Asiatique* (1864), p. 332. 'Ils se tailladent le visage avec un couteau, de sorte qu'on voit le sang couler avec les larmes.'

[3] G. A. Grierson, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1911), pp. 801ff; B. C. Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, pp. 1f; Moti Chandra, *Geographical and Economic Studies in the Mahābhārata*, p. 19.

[4] *Nirukta*, 2, I, 3-4:

शवतिर्गतिकर्मा कम्बोजेष्वेव भाष्यते।

[5] Jayachandra Vidyālaṅkāra, *Bhāratbhūmi aur uske Nivāsī* (in Hindi), p. 297.

[6] *Bhūridatta-jātaka* (edited by Faüsboll), Vol. VI, p. 208.

क्षीटाः पतङ्गा खरगा च भेका हन्त्वा किंकि सुज्झति मच्चिका च।
एता हि धम्मा अनरियरूपा कम्बोजकानं वितथा वदञ्ञम्॥

[7] B. M. Barua, *Aśoka and His Inscriptions*, Part I, p. 100.

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Persians Raghu considered it worth while to vanquish their kith and kin, the Kāmbojas.

Kālidāsa has referred to the horses of the Kāmboja country. It is noteworthy that Kāmboja-deśa is known as the 'receptacle of horses' (*assānām āyatnam*) in Pāli Buddhist literature.[1] In the *Mahābhārata* also the horses of several breeds presented by the Kāmbojas to Arjuna and Yudhiṣṭhira are mentioned.[2] In Chinese literature the horses of these territories are very famous. Most probably this region was included in the *Bhadrāśvavarṣa* or *Harivarṣa* of Indian geographical accounts. The reference to the big heaps of wealth (*tuṅga-draviṇa-rāśayaḥ*) of these regions is in accord with the notices of silver mines in Andarab, Badakhshan and Wakhan.[3] Lieutenant Wood found one such mine twenty miles from Ishikashm in the Ghagan region on the southern bank of the Oxus. Marco Polo has praised the rubies and sapphires of Badakhshan. According to Ghirshman the Yue-che were the first people to use the rubies of Badakhshan.[4] It is likely that this region represented the Maṇikāñchana-varṣa mentioned in the *Bhīṣma parvan* of the *Mahābhārata* as a part of Śakadvīpa.

After conquering the Kāmbojas Raghu scaled the high mountains with the help of the horses obtained in the Kāmboja country and reached a region where the bamboos (*kīchaka*) were growing.[5] This mountain has been called 'gaurīguru-śaila'. In order to identify this mountain correctly it is necessary to bear in mind that Raghu was going in the east from Badakhshan and the Pamirs. From Badakhshan he had the same route of Wakhan and the Pamir before him along which Hiuen T'sang went home to China and by which Marco Polo moved into Chinese Turkestan. From Badakhshan (Po-to-chang-na) Hiuen T'sang passed through the old territory of the Tu-ho-lo country or the land of the Tukhāras. He visited Yamgan (In-po-kin), Kuran (Kiu-lang-na), Tamasthi-ti (Ta-mo-sih-teh-ti), Termistat of the Arab geographers, Shikhnan (Shi-k'i-ni) and Sambhi (Shang-mi) till he reached the valley of Pamir (Po-mi-lo) and the Sarik-kul lake known as the Kul-i-Pamir-kalān, which was regarded as the central point of Jambudvīpa. Then the Chinese pilgrim reached the country of Bolor (Po-lo-lo) and Sarikol and Tush Kurghan (K'ie-p'an-to). Going north-east from this country and descending the dangerous defiles of the

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1 B. C. Law, *India as described in early texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, p. 23ff.

2 *Mahābhārata*, II, 45, 19-20:

काम्बोजः प्राहिणोत्तस्मै परार्ध्यानपि कम्बलान् ।
रथयोषिद्गवाश्वस्य शतशोऽथ सहस्रशः ।
त्रिशतं चोष्ट्रवामीनां शतानि विचरन्युत ।

Ibid., II, 47, 3-4:

प्रावाराजिनमुख्याँश्च काम्बोजः प्रददौ वसु ॥
अश्वांस्त्रित्तिरकल्माषांस्त्रिशतं शुकनासिकान् ।
उष्ट्रवामीस्त्रिशतं च पृथा पीलुशमीऽगुदैः ॥

3 V. V. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, II, 65.

4 R. Ghirshman, *Bégram*, p. 60.

5 *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV, 71–73:

ततो गौरीगुरुं शैलमारुरोहाश्वसाधनः ।
वर्धयन्निव तत्कूटानुद्धूतैर्धातुरेणुभिः ॥
भूर्जेषु मर्मरीभूताः कीचकध्वनिहेतवः ।
गङ्गाशीकरिणो मार्गे मरुतस्तं सिषेविरे ॥

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T'sung-ling mountains he emerged into the kingdom of Och (U-sha) bordering on the river Sitā. Then came the oasis of Kashgar (Kie-sha). Leaving it the pilgrim stepped into the kingdom of Chakuka (Cho-kiu-kia) bordering on the Yarkand and Khotan rivers. To the east of this kingdom, the route led along high mountain passes and valleys to the country of Khotan (K'iu-sa-ta-na) [S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, pp. 290–309]. It was probably along some such route that the grand army of the Kuṣāṇas marched against the Chinese general Pa'n-chao through the Pamirs and Kashgharie under the command of Sei. Marching along this route Raghu reached the region of the 'kīchakas'. According to Sylvain Lévi 'kīchaka' is the transcription of a Chinese word.[1] It grew on the banks of the river Śailodā. The country of the Kīchakas is repeatedly mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. In I, 144, 2, the Pāṇḍavas are stated to have visited the countries of the Matsyas, Trigartas, Pāñchālas and Kīchakas in course of their wandering from forest to forest. Again in II, 48, 2, there is a reference to the people who dwell by the river Śailodā flowing between the mountains of Meru and Mandara and enjoy the shade of topes of kīchaka bamboos. The inhabitants of the Śailodā region were called Kīchakas. It was known about this river that nothing could swim over its surface. Whatever fell on it became stone. In order to cross it the Siddhas used to clutch the 'kīchakas' growing on its bank which the high winds bent over to the other bank where they got hold of the 'kīchakas' of that side. Besides the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* the Greek writers Curtius and Megasthenes have also referred to it. Sylvain Lévi[2] has identified this river with the Khotan river and Pargiter[3] has located it in Western Tibet.

In order to reach Khotan from Badakhshan it was necessary to cross the Pamirs. Hence the 'gaurīguru-śaila' mentioned by Kālidāsa must refer to these mountains. In this connection it is noteworthy that Ptolemy has referred to a region named Goruaia and a town called Gorya. Strābo (XV, 697) has also mentioned it. In the second century B.C. Goruaia was a part of Menander's empire.[4] A tributary of the Swat named Panjkora is also called Gauri. Thus it is clear that several place-names in the north-west bore the name of Gauri. It may well be that Kālidāsa called these mountains 'gaurīguru-śaila' pointedly because of their proximity to some such region bearing this name. Besides this, it is also important to note that these mountains were connected with the Himālayas according to the belief of ancient geographers. Greek writers have used the word Hemodos to designate the Himālayas as well as the Hindukush and later on the Bolor range which was for a long time considered the dividing line between China and Turkestan.[5] Hence the treatment of these mountains in the Himālayan family becomes understandable.

Kālidāsa has mentioned the Kirātas[6] in the region of the 'Kīchakas'. The Kirātās were the Mongoloids as shown by Sylvain Lévi.[7] The very

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[1] Sylvain Lévi, *Ptolemée, le Niddesa, et la Bṛhatkathā, Élūdes Asiatiques* (1925), Vol. II, pp. 41–42.

[2] Sylvain Lévi, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

[3] F. E. Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (Eng. Tr.), p. 351.

[4] W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 226.

[5] J. W. M'Crindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, pp. 131-32. B. C. Law, *Indological Studies*, III, p. 175.

[6] *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV, 76:

तस्योत्सृष्टनिवासेषु कपदरज्जुत्वतत्वचः।
गजवर्म किरातेभ्यः शशंसुर्देवदारवः॥

[7] Sylvain Lévi, *Le Népal*, Vol. II, p. 75.

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word 'kīrātā' is the Sanskrit form of some Sino-Tibetan word. The name of the Tibeto-Burman tribe of 'Kiranti' living in Eastern Nepal throws some light on the ethnic basis of the word 'kirāta'.[1] The Kirāta element predominates in the population of Ladakh and Baltistan and is also sprinkled in the people of Afghanistan. According to the *Mahābhārata* the Kirātas occupied the northern slopes of the Himālayas.[2] Kālidāsa has particularly mentioned the 'sarala' (sāl) and 'devadāru' (a kind of pine) trees[3] in these regions and referred to the musk found there.[4] Haider Mirza Dughlat has also mentioned the musk of Tibet in his *Tārīkh-i-Rashidi*.[5] Kālidāsa has shown interest in the herbs of these regions that shine like lights at night.[6] In the *Mahābhārata* also the Parvatīyas are shown to have brought the presents of these herbs on the occasion of the *rājasūya* sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira.[7]

In the *Raghuvaṁśa* the Kirātas are mentioned after the Kāmbojas. Similarly in the conquests of Muktāpīḍa Lalitāditya (A.D. 695–732) described in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[8] the Bhauṭṭas and Daradas are mentioned after the Kāmbojas and Tukhāras. The Kirātas of the *Raghuvaṁśa* correspond to the Bhauṭṭas of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.

After defeating the Kirātas Raghu conquered the Parvatīyas,[9] Utsavasanketas and Kinnaras.[10] In the *Mahābhārata* the Pārvatīyas are placed before the Kirātas among the people who brought presents on the occasion of the *rājasūya* sacrifice.[11] This juxtaposition of the Parvatīyas and Kirātas completely agrees with their location in the *Raghuvaṁśa*. These Parvatīyas brought the presents of honey, the garlands of Ambu flowers

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1 Suniti Kumar Chatterji, '*Kirāta-jana Kṛti*', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1950), p. 163.

2 *Mahābhārata*, II, 58, 8–10 :

ये परार्धे च हिमवतः सूर्योदयगिरौ नृपाः।
फलमूलाशना ये च किरातास्चर्मवाससः॥

3 *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV, 75 :

सरलासक्तमातङ्गैर्वेयस्फुरितत्विषः।
आसन्नौषधयो नेतुर्नक्तमस्नेहदीपिकाः॥

4 *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV, 74 :

विश्रम्रसुर्नमेरुणां छायास्वध्यास्य सैनिकाः।
दृषदो वासितोत्सङ्गा निषण्णमृगनाभिभिः॥

5 Major Raverti, '*Tibbet Three Hundred Years Ago*', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1885), p. 9.

6 *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV, 75, *op. cit.*

7 *Mahābhārata*, II, 48, 6 :

उत्तरादपि कैलासादौषधी सुमहाबलः।

8 *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, IV, 163ff.

9 *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV, 77 :

तत्र जन्यं रघोर्घोरं पर्वतीयैर्गणैरभूत्।
नाराचक्षेपणीयाश्मनिष्पेषोत्पतितानलम्॥

10 *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV, 78 :

शरैरुत्सवसंकेतान् स क्लेशो विरतोत्सवान्।
जयोदाहरणं बाह्लीर्गापयामास किन्नरान्॥

11 *Mahābhārata*, II, 48, 7 :

पार्वतीया बलिं चान्यमाहृत्य प्रणताः स्थिताः।
अजातशत्रोर्दर्पतेर्द्वारि तिष्ठन्ति वारिताः॥

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and powerful herbs to the court of Yudhiṣṭhira. These presents show that these people came from the Tibetan regions. After vanquishing them Raghu fought with the Utsavasanketas, who were the ancestors of the present-day speakers of the Manchāṭi, Lāhuli, Būnan, Rangloi and Kanāshi tongues inhabiting the regions between Ladākh and Ṭibet. They did not have a hide-bound system of marital relations. Among them sexual intercourse was mostly promiscuous. Pargiter[1] quotes a commentary on the *Raghuvaṁśa* in which the name Utsavasanketa is explained as designating a people among whom women make pleasure (*utsava*) at the hint (*sanketa*) of men. This shows the social and sexual laxity of these people which persists even up to this day. Adjacent to the land of the Utsavasanketas was the region of the Kinnaras. The southern part of Kāśmīra known as Kanaur is reminiscent of the ancient Kinnaradeśa. This region lies along the upper valley of the Jhelum between the Dhauladhar and the Zanskar mountains. The valley of Spiti starts from there.[2]

The route of Raghu from the land of the Kirātas to the region of the Kinnaras is the same along which Fa-hien travelled from Khotan into India. After walking for twenty-five days from Khotan, Fa-hien reached Tsze-boh (Yarkand or Tashkurgan in Sirikul). He stayed there for fifteen days and then went south for four days and reached the country of Yu-hwuy (Aktasch) in the Ts'ung-ling mountains. After that he went on among the hills for twenty-five days and reached K'eeh-ch'a (Iskardu).[3] In order to visit the holy places Fa-hien went from there to Uḍḍiyāna and Puruṣapur (Peshawar).

About a century later, the Chinese pilgrim Song Yun went from Tsiu-mo (Tashkurghan) to Pa-ho (Wakhan) and passed by Po-che (the mountainous region to the north of Chitral) and She-mi (Chitral). He did not, however, enter the Gilgit valley and Kashmira and moved into the valley of the Swat.[4] Then in A.D. 751 Wu-K'ong came to the kingdom of Kapisa as the head of an official mission to bring back a Chinese ambassador. He passed by Kucha, Su-lei (Kashghar), Ch'e-ni (Shighnaṇ), Po-mi (Pamir), Hu-mi (Wakhan) and travelling through Po-lu-lo (Bolor) or the valley of Yasin and Gilgit reached the Indus region.[5] In fact the Gilgit route was important from fairly early times. In a Sanskrīt inscription of the seventh century A.D. of Poṭaladeva Śāhi alias Nava Surendrāditya Nandin there is a reference to the construction of a city by his minister Makarasiṁha, who besides bearing Indian titles is called Giligitta Sarāṁgha. This title shows that the name Gilgit is an ancient one and its importance lay in the route that passed through this valley.[6] Raghu turned south on this route and came back to India.

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[1] F. E. Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 319.

[2] Jayachandra Vidyālaṅkāra, '*Regional and Linguistic Structure of India*', *Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. III, p. 130.
B. C. Law, *India as described in early texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, p. 82.

[3] James Legge, *Travels of Fa-hien*, pp. 16–25.

[4] S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, p. xc.

[5] Edward Chavannes et Sylvain Lévi, *L'itinéraire de Wou-K'ong*, *Journal Asiatique*, Sept. 1895, p. 356 et seq.

[6] N. P. Chakravarti, *Presidential Address to the Indian History Congress*, Seventeenth Session, Ahmedabad, p. 18.

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WĀQI'ĀT-I-MUSHTĀQI: ITS IMPORTANCE AS A SOURCE OF AFGHAN HISTORY

By N. B. Roy

(Communicated by Rakhahari Chatterji)

The *Wāqi'āt-i-Mushtāqi* is a unique Persian manuscript containing a mass of raw materials on the Lodi, Sur and early Chaghtai kings, Babur and Humayun, but until now this important work has hardly received any notice. It was composed by Shaikh Rizqullah who wrote under the pen-name of Mushtaqi. His father Shaikh S'adullah was a faithful officer of Miyan Zainuddin, a courtier of Sultan Sikandar, and served the Miyan and his sons for seven years, without any remuneration, after the sequestration of Zainuddin's jagir. Highly versed in theological lore, Rizqullah was the chaplain of Sultan Sikandar's courtier, 'Azam Khan Ladkhan, son of Jamal Khan Sarangkhani, and presumably of Miyan Husain Farmuli, for he refers to his having read a theological treatise in his court. Of his many qualities, Abdul-Haqq Dehlwi says in the *Akhbār-ul-Akhiyār*[1] as follows:

شیخ رزق الله مرد کامل و فاضل و عارف و از نوادر روزگار و از مردم سلف یادگار بود - جامع فضائل صوری و معنوی و در مشرب عشق و محبت و سلامت عقل و وسعت حوصله و صبر بر مصائب و دوام حضور و استقامت احوال یگانه عصر بود - کسیکه بصحبت ایشان می‌رسید چندان از سخنان معارف‌آمیز و نکات محبت‌انگیز که اهل مواجید و اذواق را باشد می شنید محظوظ می شد و در سلامت طبع طینت قلب و نقل حکایات مشائخ و تواریخ ملوک هند همچون ایشان کم کسی دیده خواهد شد - و سخن را نیک باطمینان و لطافت و شیرینی می گفتند و در وقت گفتن سخن محبت و یا شنیدن ازان بکاء و ذوق و حالت لازم حال ایشان بود - سفر کرده و صحبتها اندوخته و تجربه دیده و در صحبت غربا و فقراء و مشائخ بسیار رسیده و شعر بزبان هندی و فارسی دارند و رسالهای که بزبان هندی گفته چنانچه پیمان وجوت نرنجن بسیار مقبول و مشهور اند نام ایشان در هندی راجنّ است و فارسی مشتاقی - ولادت او هشتصد و نود و هفت وفاتش او بتاریخ بستم شهر ربیع الاول نهصد و هشتاد و نه *

[1] *Akhbār-ul-Akhiyār*, lith. ed., 174. The rendering offered is free.

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'He was a remarkable man of his times combining learning with piety; a memorial of the bygone generation. He was an ornament of the age on account of his mastery of the exoteric and esoteric learning and his absorption in mysticism and love, clarity of intellect, amplitude of wisdom, fortitude in adversity and delight in ecstasy . . . Those who sought his company, and heard his discourse, went into raptures. There was hardly anybody in his age or is likely to be born in future who could be his equal in serenity of temper, mental composure and in the recitation of the stories of the saints and history of the rulers of Hind. He spoke in a mellifluous and sweet tongue and whenever he delivered a speech or listened to one, he was so overcome with emotion, that he would either burst into tears or fall into a trance. He was a widely travelled man, having many friends and much experience and associated with many recluses and theologians. He composed both in Hindi and Persian, among which *Paĩman* Wajub Niranjan (in Hindi)[1] was very popular and well known. He wrote under the pseudonym of Rājan in Hindi, and Mushtāqi in Persian. He was born in 897 A.H. and died on the 8th Rabi, 989 A.H./Tuesday, 9th August, 1581.'

The *Wāqi'āt* commences with an account of Sultan Bahlol and ends with Sultan Muhammad 'Ādil Shah and the overthrow of his lieutenant Himu at Panipat. An epilogue on the Sultans of Malwa and Gujrat forms an adjunct to the volume. It follows the chronological order of the various ruling dynasties during A.D. 1451–1556 as indicated in the following table;

Lodi Dynasty ..	Sultan Bahlol Lodi ,, Sikandar Lodi ,, Ibrahim Lodi
Early Chagtais ..	Padishah Babur ,, Humayun
Sur Dynasty ..	Sher Shah Islam Shah Muhammad 'Ādil Shah
Malwa Sultans ..	Sultan Ghiyasuddin Shah ,, Nasiruddin Shah ,, Muzaffar Shah Gujrati

The narrative given in this volume is continuous, broken by two digressions only: (1) the author introduces, in the middle of Islām Shāh's reign, an account of some of the nobles of Sultan Sikandar and Ibrāhim Shah, and (2) he refers to Himu's defeat and overthrow in two places of his narrative (F. 147–150 and 237–240 of my MS. copy).

Sir Henry Elliot considered this transposition 'as very strange caused either by design or treacherous lapse of memory' and let down the whole work 'as being deformed by silly stories of miracles, apparitions, demons . . . exhibiting the extraordinary credulity of the author as well as of the age in which he lived'. Storey in the second volume of the *History of the Persian Literature* echoed this opinion and dubbed it as 'a disorderly narrative'. Such a stricture is hardly justified. The second part of Sir Henry's criticism is entirely out of place, for the British Museum MS. *Add. 11633* does not relegate the stories to the end of his historical work as is done in *B.M. MS. Or. 1929*. Both the extant manuscripts of the *Wāqi'āt* in the British Museum incorporate the fables and anecdotes in

[1] Elliot, IV, writes 'Paimaban job Niranjan'. 'I suggest the emendation of وجوب

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the body of the narrative in the same way as the *Tārikh-i-Dāudi* and the *Tārikh-i-Shāhi* do. The latter works are not stigmatized as unhistorical. Nor is it easy to understand how the stories could deform the historical narrative. It is no doubt true that some reigns are treated of at great length and others in a few pages. For instance, the author describes the reigns of Babur and Humayun in a summary fashion. But he takes care to explain the deviation from this usual procedure by saying

در آثار عهد ایشان تاریخها نوشته اند، بنده اکتفا هم برین کرده و اندکی تحریر تالیف نمودم - نمونه ایست اندکی از بسیار دانه از خروار -

'During their reign histories were written. I contented myself with them and have written only a short abstract to serve as a model, in the same way, as a small thing is a symbol for a big one and a seed for an ass-load of grain."

The historical merit of this work is established by its contents, the quality of the narration and the date of its composition. The *Wāqi'āt* offers a mass of interesting facts on the kings who ruled during this epoch 1451–1556. The narration of Nizāmuddin and Ni'amatullah regarding the assumption of royalty by Bahlol Lodi and the repulse of the Sharqi army in 1451-52 lacks coherence and clarity. Rizqullah, on the other hand, presents lucidly the chain of events on both the above episodes and makes the whole narrative very cogent. About Sultan Sikandar he mentions very interesting facts. He refers to his drinking habit, love of music, and shaving the beard which is said to have caused his premature death. The facts given about the nobles of his reign are indeed illuminating. The casual notice of life in the harem, rigidity of the purdah, and Observatories maintained by some noblemen enhance the value of this work over any other Afghan chronicle. Similarly, his reference to Sultan Ibrahim's relation with nobles like Miyan Maruf and Husain Farmuli ending ultimately in a temporary coalition of them with Rana Sanga, and Sultan Ibrahim's stand against them, Humayun's aversion for the Shiahs and his dislike of the Ganges water are matters which would interest every student of history and rouse his curiosity. He throws new light on other rulers mentioned in his chronicle. For instance, he refers to river dacoities committed by Sher Shah, his slaughter of the Hindus of Bhander for the alleged offence of their insulting Muslim slave girls. He similarly descants on the frolics and the amours of the Malwa Sultans.

These facts are written drily and in a detached manner. The author did not belong to the common herd of money-makers and flatterers. There is no reference to his having interviewed and sought the favour of any Sultan. His narrative like that of the famous theologian Zia Barani is not warped by any prejudice nor does he indulge in communal rant like Badauni, though he feels animated in describing Muslim victories. Typical illustrations of which are offered in his reference to Sultan Sikandar's reign, and Akbar's victory:

ص ۱۲۳

عجب عهدی همه در کامرانی — بهر خانه نشاط و شادمانی
نه کس دادی کمک کینه در تاب — نه‌کسی دیدی خیال فتنه در خواب
مسلمان چیره دست و هندوان رام — ندانستی کسی از جنس مغل نام
شهی در دانش یزدان شکوهی — هم از سنگ و هم از گوهر چون کوهی

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What a wonderful epoch it is: The people are prosperous. There is festivity and merriment in every house. People did not cherish feelings of hatred against one another nor did anybody entertain the thought of mischief-making even in a state of dream. The Muslims were dominant, the Hindus obedient ; the very name of the Mughal was not heard of.

In his intellect he has the aura of divinity.

In his majesty and brilliance, he has the grandeur of a mountain which yields stone and gem. Similarly, he recounts Akbar's victory over Hīmu in eloquent words:

ص ۱۴۹

نهال اسلام از سموم جهان سوز ظلم کفار نگوسار پژمرده گشته رو بخشگی نهاده بود سبز و نرم گردید، رو به تراوت و تازگی نهاد - حق سبحانه تعالی از سر نو اسلام را قوت و شوکت بخشید و رواج و رونق آن فزود *

'The plant of Islam which was stunted by the scorching of the simoom-like violence of the rascally kafir, acquired a new freshness and put forth new leaves. God, bountiful and Almighty, gave Islam fresh might and vigour, and renewed power and splendour.'

The work is free from fantastic statements which appear in the text of the *Tārikh-i-Shāhi* published by the Asiatic Society. For instance, Sultan Bahlol Lodi's encounter with Ahmad Khan Bhatti and his march to Udaipur.

Lastly, the *Wāqi'āt* ranks as the earliest among the Afghan chronicles. The *Tārikh-i-Shāhi* by 'Abbās Khan was completed, according to Sir Henry Elliot, after A.D. 1579. The *Tārikh-i-Daudi* by 'Abdullah was concluded after A.D. 1605, Ahmad Yādgar's *Tārikh-i-Salātin-i-Afaghina alias Tārikh-i-Shāhi* in A.D. 1614 and 'Niāmatullah's *Makhzan-i-Afghāni* in A.D. 1613. The *Wāqi'āt* was presumably completed by A.D. 1565, for it brings the narrative to the second battle of Panipat, 1556, and refers to Akbar's accession. The author was then 75 years old. No reference to the completion of this work is contained in the manuscript but its contents do not justify a date later than that of A.D. 1565. The deficiency in date is the only demerit of the *Wāqi'āt*. Otherwise, it has served as a storehouse of materials for the Afghan chroniclers like Abdullah and Ahmad Yadgar.

This work, when critically studied and analysed and read along with other Afghan chronicles, forces a revision of our opinion about the relative merits of the Lodi and the Suri kings and a re-assessment of the personalities and the estimate of the monarchs of this epoch, which I have elucidated in my introduction to the English translation of the *Makhzan-i-Afghani*, taken up for publication by the Visva-Bharati University.

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

THE DEVELOPMENT OF HINDU ICONOGRAPHY—Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged—by Dr. Jitendra Nath Banerjea, M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S. Published by the University of Calcutta. 1956. Pages xxxvii+653, with 49 plates.

When this book was first published about fifteen years ago, it was hailed as a standard authority on the subject. The fact that the first edition was out of print several years ago is a tribute to the scholarship of the author and indicates a growing interest in the subject. The present edition is a considerable improvement on the first. It includes four new chapters of considerable length, dealing with different cult-icons, and about forty new plates. Much fresh material has also been incorporated in the old chapters, with the result that the size of the book has nearly been doubled.

The author begins with a critical and exhaustive treatment of the materials for the study of iconography. In this connection he has made some valuable observations on the character of the extant iconographic texts and their correlation with actual images. He has justly criticized the view of Gopinath Rao and drawn our attention to a wide discrepancy between the two. His explanation that it was due to the regional character of some texts and the loss of a great many of them will command general assent.

The author has next tackled the vexed problem of the antiquity of image-worship in India. There is already a vast literature on the subject and opinions differ very widely, particularly about the worship of images during the early Vedic period. His discussion of the views of previous writers is both critical and comprehensive, and his own theory about the origin and development of image-worship in India, couched in very cautious language, is fully in consonance with facts so far known. Far more uncertain is his explanation of the symbols on the coins as either theriomorphic representations of deities or emblems of religious cults. In the absence of any literary evidence to the contrary, it would perhaps be more reasonable to regard most of them as natural representations of the animate and inanimate objects of nature which have attracted the fancy of artists in all ages and countries. But he himself admits the conjectural character of his suggestions and there the matter must rest for the time being.

After dealing in some detail with the factors contributing to the development of iconoplastic art in India and the iconographic terminology, the author discusses the canons of iconometry. While he has elaborately dealt with the technical aspect, he has merely touched upon the very important question, viz. how far the adoption of definite iconometric rules lay at the root of the gradual decadence of Indian iconoplastic art. The question might have been treated on the general background of the stereotyped iconographic regulations as a whole. The question is of particular importance in the case of India where the art of figure sculpture is almost entirely associated with the images of deities.

The rest of the book deals with the cult-icons. Beginning with the Vyantara Devatās, i.e. the primitive folk gods and goddesses occupying the position of inferior or secondary deities (Ch. IX), the author devotes a

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chapter each to Viṣṇu and Sūrya, Śiva and Śakti, and the miscellaneous and syncretistic icons. The last category includes Brahmā, Aṣṭadikpālas, Garuḍa, Nandin, Āyudhapuruṣas, Hari-Hara, Hari-Hara-Sūrya-Buddha, Śiva-Lokeśvara, Sūrya-Lokeśvara, Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa, Sūrya-Śiva or Mārttaṇḍa-Bhaïrava, Brahmā-Sūrya, Brahmā-Viṣṇu-Śiva-Sūrya, Ardhanārīśvara and Viṣṇu-Lokeśvara. While these images are justly taken to indicate attempts at *rapprochement* between rival creeds, the author has also referred to certain images which may be taken to illustrate sectarian rivalry. In conclusion, he has very briefly discussed the interrelation between Brahmanical Hindu iconography on the one hand, and the Buddhist and Jaina iconography on the other.

This very brief enumeration of the contents of the book will convey an idea of the very comprehensive nature of the work and the light it throws on the popular aspect of religion in ancient India. Although religion is mostly subjective in character, and is based on distinct philosophical ideas, such an aspect really concerns only a select few. The religious conception of by far the large majority of the Hindus can only be comprehended through the images of gods and goddesses whom they worshipped. In order, therefore, to understand the nature of the religion actually believed and practised by the people at large, it is necessary for the students of history and culture of ancient India to form a correct and comprehensive view of the images of deities actually worshipped by them. This is a very difficult task, as the materials, partly literary and partly archaeological, lie scattered and are not easy to comprehend without the guidance of a specialist. By writing this book Dr. Banerjea has made this task much easier and thereby laid the students of Indology under a deep debt of gratitude. Although it is technically a book on iconography, the author has throughout kept in view the larger aspect of the question and very often tried to indicate the bearing of the images on the religious ideas and conceptions. He possesses a very comprehensive knowledge of the whole subject, and has dealt with it in a scholarly manner. The book is a monument of patient industry, and evinces critical appreciation of difficult problems, and very able handling of an intricate subject. Dr. Banerjea's book is a notable contribution to the study of Hindu iconography and marks a very definite advance in the progress of our knowledge on this subject.

The printing and get-up of the book are quite satisfactory, but the absence of diacritical marks in the explanatory labels of plates is much to be regretted.

R. C. MAJUMDAR.

ETHNIC ELEMENTS IN ANCIENT INDIA, Part I—Northern India—by Dr. Sashi Bhusan Chaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D. Published by General Printers and Publishers Ltd., Calcutta 13. 1955. Pages xviii+212. Price Rs.10.

The Purāṇic lists of peoples dwelling or countries lying in the different regions of Bhāratavarṣa are well known to all students of ancient Indian geography. They are found in several of the Purāṇas with some variations in the reading not only between any two Purāṇas but sometimes even among different manuscripts of the same Purāṇa. Similar lists are also found in many other early works such as the *Mahābhārata*, Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* and Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*. Many attempts have been made in the past to throw light on ancient Indian geography on the basis of these lists. But a comprehensive

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treatise on the subject was a desideratum. The book under review removes this long-felt want.

The work is divided into eight chapters, the first two of which deal with the zonal classification of the geographical names and the value of geographical information gathered from ancient Indian literature. Chapters III–VII contain an elaborate analysis of the evidence in respect of countries lying in the different zones of North India. In Chapter VIII we have a general discussion of various questions relating to the subject and the author's views on certain interesting problems connected with it. There are also a map of ancient India and an index. It is stated that the second part of the work contains a similar treatment of the Purāṇic lists of countries lying in South India. We eagerly await the publication of this volume.

What Pargiter did in regard to the historical traditions of the Purāṇas, Dr. Chaudhuri has attempted to do in relation to the geographical traditions embodied in them. His treatment of the subject is exhaustive, scholarly and sober. He has gathered information from various sources and the evidence of inscriptions has been fully utilized in the work.

In a treatise of this nature, it cannot be expected that all scholars would agree with the learned author in respect of all the views expressed by him. His conclusions are generally acceptable; but there are certain points on which we find it difficult to agree with him. A few such cases are summarily referred to below.

The published text of Yādavaprakāśa's *Vaijayantī* contains numerous wrong readings of the text. The passage *Gandhāras = tu Dihaṇḍāḥ syuḥ* seems to be a wrong reading of *Gandhārās = t = Ūdabhāṇḍāḥ syuḥ*, i.e. 'the Gandhāras are the same as the Udabhāṇḍas'. This emendation is suggested by the fact that Udabhāṇḍa was the capital of the Gandhāra country in the early medieval period (cf. *Siddha Bhāratī*, 1950, p. 292). The name of Kaliṅga, placed by the Purāṇas clearly in the southern division of Bhāratavarṣa, cannot be read in the list of countries in the Madhyadeśa division (Chaudhuri, p. 22). The identification (*ibid.*, p. 23) of Ruddhakaṭaka with Rohītaka (modern Rohtak) seems to go not only against the rules of philology but also against the fact that the name Rohītaka is found in early works like the *Mahābhārata* (II, 32, 4). The location (Chaudhuri, p. 41) of ancient Kauśāmbī at modern Kosam in the Allahabad District can no longer be doubted on the strength of Hiuen-tsang's evidence. A stone inscription recently unearthed at Kosam is known to have belonged to the Ghoṣitārāma monastery at Kauśāmbī, which is described by Hiuen-tsang himself. Alberūnī's Jattaraur, capital of Mewar, is apparently a mistake for Chitrakūṭa > Chittaüḍa > Chittoḍa and certainly not Jetūttara (*ibid.*, p. 47) which seems to have been a locality in the Punjab. We know that Jetūttara was not the capital of Mewar in Alberūnī's age. Bazana mentioned by the Muslim savant as the capital of Gujarāt (Gurjaratrā or the land of the Gurjaras) seems to be no other than Bayānā in the Bharatpur District of Rajasthan (*ibid.*, p. 48; cf. *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 135 ff.). Potana or Paudanya, capital of the Aśmaka country, can hardly be identified with Pratiṣṭhāna which was the capital of Mūlaka (*ibid.*, p. 49) and has been located at modern Paithan in the Aurangabad District of Hyderabad. The Aśmaka capital seems to have stood at the site of modern Bodhan in the Nizamabad District of the same State (cf. *N. Hist. Ind. Peop.*, Vol. VI, p. 88). Śubhadevapāṭaka, quoted as the name of the capital of the Bhauma-Karas of Orissa (Chaudhuri, p. 78), is actually a wrong reading of Guhadevapāṭaka, otherwise called Guheśvarapāṭaka. There is really no reason to doubt the statement of the

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Mahābhārata about the river Vaitraṇī, which flows between Cuttack and Balasore Districts of Orissa, being the boundary of the ancient Kaliṅga country (*ibid.*, p. 75). It refers to a period when Tosalī (modern Dhauli near Bhuvaneśwar, within 70 miles from the Vaitaraṇī) was the capital of Kaliṅga. It is only at a later date (sometime after the establishment of the kingdom of the Gaṅga Kaliṅgādhipatis, with their capital at Kaliṅga-nagara near modern Srikakulam, about the close of the fifth century A.D.) that the Puri-Cuttack region was regarded as lying outside Kaliṅga (cf. *Or. Hist. Res. Journ.*, Vol. IV, Parts 3-4, pp. 51 ff.). Modern Pithapuram has nothing to do with the name Pratiṣṭhāna. The ancient name of Pithapuram is known to have been Piṣṭapura. There is no proof in favour of the existence of a district called Kāmarūpa in the ancient Kaliṅga country. Cīna and Kirāta are mentioned in a Nagarjunikonda inscription of the Ikṣvāku king Vīrapuruṣadatta and not in the inscription of king Khāravela of Kaliṅga (Chaudhuri, p. 170). We have no reason to believe that a family called Bhadra ruled over parts of ancient Bengal (*ibid.*, p. 172; cf. *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 230). The land known to Pāṇini as Sūramasa can scarcely be located in the Surma Valley in Assam as it seems that the great grammarian, who belonged to the Peshawar region, had no specific knowledge of the countries in Eastern India (*I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 124).

There are some misprints in Dr. Chaudhuri's work especially in the transliterated passages quoted from Sanskrit sources. We have also noticed some geographical names (e.g. Daśapura at pp. 201, 203) which have not found a place in the index. These are, however, minor defects not detracting in any way from the value of the book.

We recommend the work to all students of early Indian history and culture.

D. C. Sircar.

Central Asiatic Journal, Vol. I, No. 1—Joint Publication of Moulton & Co., The Hague, and Otto Horrossowitz, Wiesbaden. Editor-in-Chief, Prof. Dr. K. Jahn (Leiden). Subscription not mentioned.

It is the first number of (dedicated to the Rev. Antoine Mostaert, the *doyen* of Mongolian Studies, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of his ordination as priest and of his being commissioned to China) an international periodical (quarterly) for the languages, literature, history and archaeology of Central Asia. The publication is very opportune and very welcome as the contents of the number in review show. The editor's short foreword is followed by Robert A. Rupen's article 'Antoine Mostaert, C.I.C.M. and Comparative Mongolian Folklore'. Pentti Aalto writes 'On the Altaic Initial P-'. 'Qan-Qa-An and the Beginnings of Mongol Kingship' is contributed by Lawrence Krader, 'The Turkic Loan Words in Middle Mongolian' by Nicholas Poppe, 'Sogdiana and the Hsiung-nu' by K. Enoki, and 'Mongolische Miszellen' by Pavel Poncha. The last item is review of books.

This international periodical devoted to Central Asian Studies is a very interesting and welcome venture and it deserves full support from the scholars and the institutions devoted to study and research in humanities all over the world.

19-9-1956.

Sukumar Sen.

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LECTURES IN LINGUISTICS—by Oscar Luis Chavarria-Agvilar. Deccan College Handbook Series, Deccan College, Poona. 1954. Rs.4.

The author delivered in Poona (March, 1954) six lectures on the following topics: Nature of Language, Descriptive Linguistics, Language and Linguistics in India, Morphology, A Sketch of Pashto Syntax and Transfer Grammar. In these lectures the author has tried to introduce Descriptive Linguistics—which is to a large extent an American 'Science'—to Indian scholars. Descriptive Linguistics is essential for the study of languages which have no history, such as the Austric languages, many of the Tibeto-Burman languages and some of the Dravidian languages spoken in India. It is also very useful for learning a language as it is spoken. For the dialectal study of the languages with a history behind them Descriptive Linguistics is also useful. But in the science of language it must give precedence to Historical Linguistics. The overall importance of the latter is sometimes forgotten by the enthusiastic students of the former.

The lectures, however, are very interesting and their importance for the beginners in Linguistics cannot be overrated.

19-9-1956. SUKUMAR SEN.

KAVIKALPADRUMA OF VOPADEVA—critically edited by Gajanan Balekrishna Palsule. Sources of Indo-Aryan Lexicography: Deccan College, Poona. Rs.6. 102 pp.

Kavikalpadruma is a lexicon of Sanskrit roots, written by one of the leading grammarians of the later generations. The text given here is based on printed editions and MSS. In a learned introduction the editor describes and analyses his material and discusses the date of composition and other informations about Vopadeva. The three appendices give the list of the roots, their meaning and explanations of the *Annbandhas* used in the text.

The work bears the usual stamp of scholarship and neatness found in the publications of Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Poona.

19-9-1956. SUKUMAR SEN.

DHAMMAPADAM—by Mahāsthavir Prajñālok and Bhiksu Anomadarśī. Introduction by Professor Nalinaksha Dutta. Prajñālok Prakāśanī, Calcutta. 293 pp.

The text in Bengali characters is followed by a Bengali translation of the text and Buddhaghoṣa's commentary as well as the *Arthakathā*. A select bibliography and index are appended. Professor Dutt in his introduction gives the history of *Dhammapada* and the translators' introduction deals with the importance of the work and gives an account of the commentator Buddhaghoṣa. This is altogether a very good and useful edition of one of the greatest books of the world, suitable for the general reader.

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ĀCĀRĀṄGASŪTRA (*Prathám Śruta—Skandha*)—translated into Bengali by Srīmati Hīrākumārī and published by Śrī Jaina Śvetāmbar Terāpanthī Mahāsabhā, Calcutta. Date and price not mentioned. 71 pp.

Ācārāṅgasūtra is the oldest of the Jain canonical works, and it was so long not translated into Bengali. Śrīmatī Hīrakumārī deserves our best thanks for her careful and very readable translation of this sacred and important religious work. We hope that she will not stop here but complete the translation of the entire text. The publishers are to be congratulated for the neat production.

19-9-1956. SUKUMAR SEN.

PĀRASYA SĀHITYER ITIHĀS—by Sri Harendracandra Pal. Presidency Library, Calcutta. 1954. Rs.5. 206, 14, 1 pp.

Persian language and literature had in the past influenced Bengali language and literature to a considerable extent. Before the middle of the last century Persian was the language of administration, business and culture in our country. But we did not take much interest in Persian literature. Of course Hafiz and Sādi were popular with the cultured and the devoted. But our information regarding Persian literature is obtained through English. It is gratifying to note that Sri Pal has brought forth a history of Persian literature in Bengali. Sri Pal is a college professor of Persian and therefore possesses the requisite qualifications for the task. His purpose will be served if his book induces some of our students to study Persian literature in the original. We recommend the book to the general readers also.

19-9-1956. SUKUMAR SEN.

BĀṄLĀ SĀHITYER RŪP-REKHA—by Sri Gopal Haldar. A. Mukherji & Co., Ltd., Calcutta. 1954. Rs.4. 250 pp.

Sri Haldar is a literary man with versatile ability. The book under review shows a new phase of his. It is an outline history of Bengali literature from the beginning up to the end of the eighteenth century. It is written for the general reader and therefore it avoids discussions and controversies. Sri Haldar has his own point of view but that does not go counter to the historical outlook. It is a thoroughly dependable book, well written and well produced.

19-9-1956. SUKUMAR SEN.

WOMEN IN INDIAN INDUSTRIES—by Padmini Sengupta.

It is a collection of eleven articles published by the author in 'Social Welfare'. The wages, amenities and handicaps of women in the different industries, such as Jute, Textile, Plantation and Mining, are dealt with each in a separate article. There is also a section on miscellaneous industries. The topic of children in Indian industries also finds place in the collection.

It is a valuable collection of articles on the subject of women labourers in India, bringing together, as it does, a good amount of useful information. A contents and page numbering of the articles should not have been absent.

K. P. CHATTOPADHYAY.

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